VOYAGES

TO THE

EAST-INDIES;

BY THE LATE

JOHN SPLINTER STAVORINUS, ESQ.

REAR ADMIRAL IN THE SERVICE OF THE

STATES-GENERAL.

Tranſlated from the original Dutch,

By SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.

WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The Whole compriſing a full and accurate Account of all the preſent and late Poſſeſſions of the Dutch in India, and at the Cape of Good Hope.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA, AND SURAT, WITH ACCOUNTS OF THOSE PLACES; IN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1775.

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VOYAGE

TO

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, BATAVIA, SAMARANG, MACASSER, AMBOYNA, SURAT, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1774—1778.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

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Bay.—Of the Company's Buildings.—Two Engliſh, and one French, Ships found here.—Miſunderſtanding between the Government, and the French Captain.—How ſettled.—Complaints at the Cape of the French.

ON the 9th of March, 1774, the wind having changed to E.N.E. I left *Middleburgh* in the morning, in company with the junior merchant, VAN DER STENGH, and the under comptroller of equipment, DUIFVOET, for *Rammekens*, where my ſhip, the *Ouwerkerk*, lay at anchor,

As ſoon as we were on board, we ſent for the pilot, and the maſter of the Company's pilot-boy; who thinking the opportunity for ſailing a favourable one, we weighed anchor at ten o'clock, and ſet ſail. Preſently after, the pilot-boy, by bad management, run athwart our bow, ſo that we were in great danger of doing, or receiving, damage, or of being forced aground, upon the flat called the *kloot*, or ball. Fortunately, however, we got away from each other, without either of us receiving any damage of conſideration.

In the mean time, it was reported to me,

me, that the ſurgeon of the ſhip, who had been very ill for ſome days, was upon the point of death, which made me determine upon propoſing to the under comptroller of equipment, to caſt anchor before *Fluſhing*, inſtead of proceeding to the place called the *Put*, or Pit; the more ſo, as I ſhould then have a better opportunity of receiving further orders from the honourable the board of directors, in caſe they made any ſcruple of ſending the ſhip to ſea, with a dying ſurgeon, and between ſeventy and eighty of the crew on the ſickliſt.

Hereupon I received orders from Mr. VAN BURGT, through the comptroller of equipment, to proceed to ſea the next day, if I myſelf made no difficulty reſpecting the ſituation of the ſurgeon, which, to ſay the truth, I did not; and therefore, I weighed anchor at nine A.M. and got under ſail, with a ſtiff gale at E.N.E. At eleven o'clock, we cleared the land, carrying little ſail, till eight P.M. when we changed our courſe to S.W. by S. We run under double-reefed topſails, during the night, and on the next morning, being the 11th of March,

juſt before ſunriſe, we came in ſight of the coaſts of England and France. We then carried a preſs of ſail; at eight o'clock we paſſed *Dover*, and afterwards the *Shingles*, and at noon, we run cloſe in with *Beachy*-head, to put the pilot on board the hoy, the maſter of which told me, he ſhould keep company with me, as far as the *Start* Point, if I did not keep too far off ſhore.

I diſpatched ſeveral letters by the pilot, and among others, one to the honourable the board of directors of *Zealand*, to inform them of my progreſs thus far, in ſafety, and that, when I muſtered the ſhip's crew upon ſailing, there were ſix ſailors miſſing.

We got ſight of the Iſle of *Wight* in the evening, and the next day, at ſunriſe, of the bill of *Portland*. We preſently afterwards hailed the maſter of the hoy, and informed him, that we had ſeventy-five ſick; but, further, all well. We wiſhed each other a proſperous voyage, and ſteered for the *Start* Point.

At ten o'clock A.M. the hoy ſaluted us with ſeven guns, which we returned with the ſame number; ſhe then ſteered cloſer in ſhore,

ſhore, having to call at *Falmouth* for an anchor, which one of the Company's ſhips had left behind there.

We took our laſt obſervation of the land, being the *Start* Point, an hour before ſunſet, and in a ſhort time we loſt ſight of it, and, together with it, Europe, for a conſiderable period, ſetting our courſe s.w. by w.

Nothing happened worthy of remark till the 17th of March, except that we ſaw ſeveral ſhips, and that two of our men died. We were then encountered by a violent ſtorm, at firſt from the s.w. but afterwards from w.n.w. and n.w. which continued till the 19th, with an angry and mountainous ſea, by which the ſhip ſtrained and heeled very much. This awakened in thoſe who had never been at ſea, eſpecially in the junior merchant (the ſupercargo), and the commander of the ſoldiers, the greateſt apprehenſion of death; it made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the latter, in particular, that he was continually at prayers, upon his knees, though he was not otherwiſe very religious. So we may ſee that fear produces

what the ſtrongeſt arguments, and moſt earneſt exhortations, have failedto effect.

At noon, on the 19th of March, the ſtorm had entirely ſubſided; we availed of this opportunity to repair the little damage which we had received.

The favourable wind which we then had, did not continue ſo, longer than the evening of the next day, when we met with calms and contrary winds. We had, however, now paſſed Cape *Finiſterre*, the northweſt point of *Gallicia*.

The wind remained contrary, though with fine weather, till the 23d of March, when the ſoutherly wind veered to eaſt, and N.E. with good weather, which, in the latitudes we were in, to the north of the line, is rather a ſingular circumſtance; for, generally, when the wind turns againſt the courſe of the ſun, it is accompanied by very bad, ſhowery, and windy weather, which does not change till the wind returns round the ſame way it came, to the north, of which we had a ſtriking example in the laſt ſtorm.

On the 24th of March, a ſailor died, who

was

was the fourth, ſince our departure from *Zealand*; certainly a ſmall number, in compariſon with the numerous ſick, with which we had put to ſea; theſe were now reduced to ſixty-ſix, and they were daily getting better.

They that recovered, undoubtedly owed their cure, more to the operations of nature, than to the medicines which were adminiſtered to them.

The ſurgeon was very ill, and wholly incapable of viſiting the patients. One of his mates was equally ſick, and the two others, did not even poſſeſs ſufficient ſkill in their art, to diſtinguiſh the diſeaſe, much leſs to preſcribe the neceſſary remedies; ſo that, as I afterwards underſtood, ſcarcely any thing was adminiſtered to the poor ſailors, but *rob ſambuci*, and *ſpiritus nitri dulcis*, with a copious ſupply of drink.

I had likewiſe obſerved, when we were lying at anchor, in the road of *Rammekens*, and had one hundred and fourteen ſick, and daily deaths, that after the ſurgeon fell ill, their number decreaſed from day to day.

On my part, I had put every means in practice, from the moment that this extra-

ordinary degree of ſickneſs manifeſted itſelf, if not to remove it, at leaſt to arreſt its progreſs, and ſoften its malignity.

For this purpoſe, I ordered the places where the ſick lay, to be cleaned out every day, without, however, ſuffering any water to be uſed in ſcouring, or otherwiſe, between the decks; for due conſideration, and my experience on former voyages, had taught me, that the moiſt exhalation from the wet that remains behind, contributes greatly to encreaſe the corruption of the air impriſoned in theſe narrow places.

Freſh air was ſupplied in every poſſible manner, as well by the uſual openings of the ſhip, as by means of the ventilators, cool-ſail, &c. The ſick were ſhifted from time to time; their bedding aired; their ordure was not ſuffered to remain below in open buckets, but was immediately carried up, in cloſed caſes; their hands and faces were waſhed every morning with vinegar; their mouths rinſed; and the whole of the ſick-ward was daily fumigated with juniper-berries, and ſprinkled with vinegar.

By putting all theſe means in practice, I was fortunate enough, to moderate the great

great heat, which, in a place, where more than one hundred ſick were crouded together, muſt have been exceſſive; ſo that at night, it did not differ more than 10° from that of my own cabin, which I aſcertained by hanging two ſimilar thermometers in each place.

While we were at *Rammekens*, the directors contributed greatly to the alleviation and refreſhment of theſe wretched ſailors, in their ſtate of debility and diſtreſs, by ſending them a daily ſupply of freſh meat and greens, in which the part of the crew that were in health alſo participated; I cauſed a nouriſhing ſoup to be made for the ſick, of the meat, every day; and, when at ſea, I continued this practice, with regard to the ſick, at noon: in the morning, I gave them grout, with prunes, mixed with white wine and ſugar; and in the evening, bread ſoaked in beer, and ſweetened with treacle.

I made the convaleſcents walk for one or two hours, every day, or as long as their ſtrength would allow, between the upper and middle decks, where the air was freſher than in the ſick-ward, and not ſo cold as upon the upper deck.

When

When they had continued this, for a few days, they came above, in fine weather, in order to regain their loſt ſtrength, by inhaling the pure ſea-air, and at the ſame time, to warm themſelves in the rays of the ſun, which encreaſed in force every day. But I did not ſuffer them to do any duty, till they were perfectly reſtored to their former ſtrength, and fully able to perform the uſual ſhip's work.

But, to return to our voyage. On the 24th of March, we ſaw two ſmall land-birds, which made me conclude that we were more to the eaſtward, or cloſer in with the land, than we computed by the ſhip's reckoning; the more ſo, as in traverſing the bay of *Biſcay*, we had daily found ourſelves more ſouthward than our eſtimation, which I attributed to a current running to the S.E. and which continually ſets into that bay from the eaſtward.

The favourable wind which we got, after theſe little adverſities, carried us, on the 27th of March, in ſight of the iſland *Madeira*, the weſt part of which we diſcovered half an hour before ſunſet. This was conſiderably different from my expectation; for I had

I had depended, from the reaſons above-mentioned, that we ſhould have been to the eaſtward of our reckoning: whereas, the contrary proved to be the caſe, as we found ourſelves twenty-two leagues to the weſtward of it.

This is a ſingular circumſtance, for of twenty ſhips, there is ſcarcely one that has a weſterly miſreckoning here; in general they are all to the eaſtward of their computation; owing to the indraught of the currents, both into the bay of *Biſcay*, and into the bend between Cape *St. Vincent*, and Cape *Cantin*, in which laſt they ſet ſtrongly to the eaſt, towards the Straits of *Gibraltar:* in our caſe, the contrary ſeems to have taken place.

I had myſelf ſo little expectation of ſeeing the land on that ſide, that although, in the afternoon, the ſky bore, in that quarter, much the appearance of land, ſhewing like the haze of thick clouds, hanging over high land, as *Madeira* is, and in the ſame manner as I had before ſeen that iſland overhung with clouds, I ſaid to one of my lieutenants, that if the ſky had the ſame appearance to the weſtward, as it now ſhewed

ed to the eaſt, I ſhould think that it was *Madeira*, but that there was no probability of its being to the eaſtward of us. We, however, ſaw it, in that quarter, though but a ſmall part of its eaſtern extremity was viſible to us, the reſt of the iſland remaining hid, by the clouds above, and by a thick haze below.

Towards evening we loſt ſight of it, and ſteered our courſe, in order to run fifteen or twenty leagues to the weſtward of the iſlands *Palma* and *Fuego*, the moſt weſterly of the *Canary* iſlands, and afterwards to the eaſtward of the *Cape Verde* iſlands.

On the 28th of March, died one JOACHIM VAN WIEKEN, a native of *Riga*, where he had been a capital merchant, and to the moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants of which place he was related. He had been unfortunate in his buſineſs, partly by a too implicit confidence, and partly by his own careleſſneſs and negligence, ſo that he was obliged to quit his trade, and native place, and to ſeek his fortune elſewhere.

This man came to me at *Middleburgh* in the month of November, requeſting to be enliſted as a ſoldier for India, in my ſhip.

As

As he was very well dreſſed, and had perfectly the manners and appearance of a gentleman, I was much ſurprized at his application. I endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to perſuade him to abandon his purpoſe, by laying before him, the danger and inconvenience of ſo long a voyage, and the diſagreeable treatment he was likely to meet with in ſo low a ſtation; it was, however, all in vain, he was fixed in his reſolution to undertake the voyage; aſſuring me that the ſecond in command of the Company's factory at *Banjermaſſing*, in the iſland of *Borneo*, was his couſin; and that this perſon had, ſeveral times, written to his family, that one of them ſhould come over to him; that he was rich, and, though married, had no children; that whoever came to him ſhould be his heir, &c. VAN WIEKEN now wanted to try this reſource for reeſtabliſhing his ruined affairs, if poſſible.

I endeavoured to convince him, how little reaſon there was, to indulge in ſuch expectations, as his relation might be dead before he reached India, or he might have children, or have changed his mind; that, in ſuch a caſe, he would not only have performed

formed a long and difficult voyage to no purpoſe, but he would beſides find himſelf in a remote and ſtrange country, where he knew no body, and whither he had no introduction, or recommendation; that he would wander about without reſource, and would be obliged to perform the hard duties of that ſervice in which he was engaged, and to which he would not find himſelf competent.

Nothing, however, could make him waver in his determination; and, I therefore engaged him as a ſailor, becauſe, if his views proved abortive, it would be eaſier for him to leave the Indies, as a ſailor, than as a ſoldier.

As ſoon as he came on board, I had him lodged in the gunroom, and excuſed him from performing the duty of a ſailor.

The reigning diſorder on board attacked him, ſoon after we were at ſea, and ſnatching him from life, and his golden dreams of future wealth, gave him up a prey to the fiſhes of the deep. So are the plans of prudence, and the projects of temerity, baffled by the decrees of providence, and however far advanced towards their com-

completion, the idle viſion is diſſipated, in a moment, by the breath of heaven.

The day before, we had loſt one MATTHEW JOSEPH AGOO, a native of *Liege*, who, when he came on board, told me, that he was a teacher of the Latin, French, Italian, and German languages. A few days afterwards, he began to ſhew ſigns of inſanity, and deſired to be ſet on ſhore. I aſked him, whether he had any reaſon to complain of bad treatment? which he anſwered in the negative; adding, however, "that his deſ-"tiny called him on ſhore, and not on "board a ſhip." I endeavoured to convince him of the contrary, by ſtating that my deſtiny, as well as his, and that of the whole of the ſhip's crew, called us to go the voyage to India. Upon this he ſaid, "that, in order to be perfectly eaſy, he "muſt have his wife and children on "board." When this was refuſed him, he begged again to be ſet on ſhore, promiſing by all that was ſacred, that he would become a capuchin. I ſoon ſaw that little was to be done with him, and left him, directing my officers to take particular care of him, eſpecially that he ſhould not be ill treated.

treated. The next morning, at ſeven o'clock, as he was ſtanding by the main-chains, he ſuddenly, bidding his ſhipmates farewel, ſprang overboard; fortunately, one of the ſailors, who was leaning out of a porthole between the decks, caught him by the hair of his head, or he would have been carried away by the ſtream. When he was ſafe on board again, I had him put in irons for four-and-twenty hours, after which he ſeemed to have come to his ſenſes again. I took this opportunity of aſking him who he was, and further particulars about his parentage, ſituation, &c. His ſtory was as follows:

"He was born," he ſaid, "at *Liege*, and "had early been educated there, by the Je-"ſuits, for a learned profeſſion, and had even, "in ſome meaſure, engaged himſelf in their "fraternity. Afterwards he had left *Liege*, "and had lived for a long time in *Ger-"many*, particularly at *Prague*. He then "met with a German nobleman, who "made him tutor to his children. A little "time afterwards, he became acquainted "with a young woman, whom he married, "and by whom he had three children. Af-

ter

" ter his marriage, he went, with his wife,
" to reſide at a place in *Germany*, where he
" had a comfortable livelihood for himſelf
" and his family, till, after having lived
" for ſeveral years in happineſs, he was
" overtaken by a misfortune, which in-
" volved them all in diſtreſs and miſery.
" Among his books, he had one, entitled,
" *La Pierre Philoſophale*, which was moſt
" ſtrictly prohibited at that place. His
" wife being once in converſation with one
" of her neighbours, on ſuch ſubjects, ſaid,
" in the ſimplicity of her heart, that her
" huſband had that book in his poſſeſſion;
" upon which the other begged to look
" at it, and afterwards to borrow it, pro-
" miſing to return it the next day; but in-
" ſtead of keeping his word, he carried it
" directly to the officers of juſtice; who
" immediately ſeized upon the property of
" the unfortunate delinquent, and would
" equally have ſecured his perſon, had he
" not ſaved himſelf by flight. Upon this,
" he returned to *Liege*, to ſee whether he
" could not raiſe ſome money, for the aſſiſt-
" ance of his diſtreſſed family, left behind
" in *Germany*; not ſucceeding in this, he

" went to *Maeſtricht*, intending to enliſt as " a ſoldier, but he had there been inveigled " away, by one of the under-crimps, em- " ployed by the perſons, who procure re- " cruits, for the Dutch Eaſt-India Com- " pany's ſervice, in which he had been in- " duced to engage, and had thus become " a ſoldier, on board of the ſhip *Ouwer-* " *kerk*."

After we loſt ſight of the iſland *Mageira*, we had ſtiff gales, from the north and N.E. which carried us ſwiftly along, and, on the 1ſt of April, we paſſed the tropic of cancer, without any thing worthy of notice, except that, on that day, the ſea appeared very turbulent, with ſtrong ripplings of currents. The heat was not very conſiderable, for the thermometer did not reach to 70° in the warmeſt part of the day. Our ſick were daily recovering, and we had every proſpect, that we ſhould ſhortly be without a ſingle man unfit for duty.

At nine o'clock, A.M. on the 4th of April, we ſaw the iſland *Sal*, the northweſternmoſt of the *Cape Verde* iſlands. We here came to a determination of touching at *St. Jago*, to ſee whether we could not get a ſupply of

of water, and of refreſhments, for our ſick, and for thoſe who had recovered, but were weakly, and were threatened with the ſcurvy.

A ſhort time before noon, we ſaw the iſland *Bonaviſta*, along the eaſt ſide of which, we ſailed at two leagues diſtance, and towards the evening, we loſt ſight of it again.

The next morning, at ſunriſe, we ſaw the iſland *Mayo*, and we ſailed to the eaſtward of it, at the diſtance of a ſhort league.

All theſe iſlands appeared very barren, and burnt up. Neither trees, nor graſs, were to be ſeen; nothing but bare rocks, and breakers on all ſides, which, however, appeared not to extend more than a quarter of a league from the ſhore.

Having paſſed this iſland, we ſteered for that of *St. Jago*, and running in ſight of it, and cloſe in with the ſhore, we made the point of *Porto Praya*, which equally appeared very arid and ſcorched, and the hills were even become red from the parching climate.

Juſt before we came to the point of *Porto*

Praya, we ſaw an inlet, or bay, which is called the *Falſe Bay of Praya*.

In the deepeſt part of this bay, there was a little grove of cocoanut-trees, and a few houſes; but a heavy ſurf broke all along the ſhore. This is eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from the true bay of *Praya*, as the eaſt point of the latter is high, ſteep, and without breakers, and that of the former is very low, and ſurrounded by heavy breakers.

We ran cloſe along the eaſt point of *Porto Praya*, about a piſtolſhot from the ſhore, and let drop our common bower-anchor, under the ſtern of a large Engliſh ſhip, in eleven fathoms, black ſandy bottom; but as it would not hold, we likewiſe ran out our beſt bower, to which the ſhip bore up.

We had in the mean time been driven, by the force of the wind, to within three cables' length of the weſt point, which is nothing but a range of rocks, ſo that we were in the utmoſt danger, and could not carry out any other anchor to warp us off, as the gale was too ſtrong.

We found ſix ſhips lying at anchor here; namely,

namely, an Engliſh Eaſt-Indiaman, bound to *Bengal*; two French veſſels for *Mauritius*, and three Portugueſe for *Brazil*.

Porto Praya is ſituated, according to my obſervation there, in north latitude, 14° 50′, at the moſt ſouthern part of the iſland *St. Jago*.

It is a pretty deep bay, formed to the eaſt by the beforementioned point, whence the land trends to the north, to the deepeſt part of the bay. This eaſtern ſhore is very high and mountainous; at the end of the bay, a little to the weſt, there is a very indifferent fortification, upon a little eminence, which is called the caſtle, and upon which, the Portugueſe enſign is hoiſted, when any ſhips arrive.

The land then turns, in a ſoutherly direction, with high mountains, ending in a range of rocks, very little elevated above the ſurface of the ſea, which form the weſt point of the bay.

Almoſt in the middle, between the weſt point and the caſtle, about two cables' length from the ſhore, there is a ſmall iſland, which, by the eye, appears to be about thirty feet perpendicular out of the water. It is flat at

top, like a table, and about eight hundred feet in circumference, by computation. The French call it *l'Iſle aux Cailles*. The ſeamen who die in the harbour, are buried there.

Boats, but no ſhips, can paſs between this iſland, and the weſt ſhore; the paſſage is filled with ſunken rocks.

The ciſtern, whence the ſhips take in their water, is at the bottom of the hill upon which the caſtle is built; and in common ſeaſons, if drawn dry in the evening, is full again the next morning, though the water itſelf is not very good, being more or leſs brackiſh.

The town of *Praya* conſiſts of a few ſcattered huts of wood and clay. There are no more than two or three brick buildings, which even can ſcarcely be called houſes, and which are inhabited by the governor and vice-governor.

There is nothing very attractive in the appearance of the whole; and the dry and parched look of the country, indicates ſufficiently that it is ſituated in the middle of the torrid zone.

Being confined on board, partly by ill health,

health, and by the dangerous ſituation of my ſhip, which required my conſtant preſence, I did not go on ſhore to ſee every thing myſelf, but I noted down the information I received from my officers.

As ſoon as we were ſafe at anchor, and had ſaluted the king's flag with ſeven guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number, I ſent the boat on ſhore with my officers, to inform the governor of my arrival, and to requeſt that I might be ſupplied with water and refreſhments.

They brought me information in return, that no refreſhments were to be procured at the iſland, it not having rained for more than nine months; and that the diſtreſs for proviſions was ſo great, that the inhabitants were in great danger of periſhing with famine, if the ſhip with proviſions, which had been long ago written for from *Portugal*, did not ſpeedily make her appearance *; that there

* This drought was, in effect, followed, in the ſame year, by a general famine in the *Cape Verde* iſlands, in which many hundreds of people periſhed for want. The commander of a Dutch ſhip, which touched at *St. Jago* during this diſtreſsful ſeaſon, received ſeveral of the natives, with their wives and

 children,

there was very little water, for that the crews of the ſhips which lay at anchor here, were employed, night and day, in drawing out the leaſt water that came into the ciſtern; ſo that if we could, at moſt, obtain two leagers a day, we might think ourſelves very well off; and this quantity was no more than we wanted every day, for our conſumption.

As ſoon as they landed, they were conducted by the centinel, whoſe muſquet was

children, who ſold themſelves to him, in order to eſcape the dreadful conſequences of want. He carried them to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and ſold them there; but when the government was informed of it, he was ordered to redeem them at his own expence, to carry them back to their native country, and to bring a certificate from the Portugueſe governor, importing the execution of theſe orders. The circumſtances of theſe iſlands ſeem not to have been ameliorated ſince; for, in 1792, when the Lion ſtopped at *St. Jago*, on her outward paſſage to China, the iſland was in an abſolute ſtate of famine. Little or no rain had fallen there for about three years before. The rivers were, almoſt all, entirely dry. The ſurface of the earth was, in general, deſtitute of herbage. The greateſt part of the cattle had already periſhed, not leſs through drought, than want of food. Of the inhabitants, many had migrated, many were famiſhed to death. It is remarkable, that, in oppoſition to the preſent parched and deſolate ſtate of theſe iſlands, the frequent ſhowers, which were obſerved by the firſt navigators, who touched at this identical place, the iſland of *St. Jago*, induced them to give it the name of *Pluvialis*. T.

without

without a lock, to the government-houſe, which made a very wretched appearance, where they had to wait, till the governor was in readineſs to receive them. They thought that he had firſt to dreſs himſelf, as they ſaw clothes carried in doors.

At laſt being conducted in, they were received by his excellency, without a coat, and in his waiſtcoat, having his hair turned up ſmooth over the head, and making, upon the whole, a ſtrange figure *. He mentioned, among other things, that the outward-bound Eaſt-India Company's ſhips, *Honkoop*, the *Veldhoen*, *Zuidbeveland*, and *Bothland*, had lain at anchor here, from the 22d of January till the 12th of February laſt, that they had brought many ſick with them, and left many dead behind them.

The furniture of the chamber of audience, conſiſted of two chairs, a ſmall table, and two little pictures hung againſt the wall: in the middle, it was divided acroſs by a mat,

* The name and ſtyle of this auguſt perſonage, was Don Joachim Salama Saldanha de Lobos, governor general, for the crown of Portugal, of the Cape de Verde on the main land of Africa, and of the Cape de Verde iſlands oppoſite to it. T.

and

and the part on the other ſide ſerved for a kitchen.

They were then carried to the vice-governor, who was dreſſed in a red cloth coat, with gold lace, and a large pair of ſpectacles upon his noſe. His abode was alſo furniſhed ſomething better. Againſt the wall hung three watches, and a little wooden cuckow-clock, which he ſaid had been given to him by a Dutch captain. In one corner of the room lay ſeveral folio books, which ſeemed to be in a very ſhabby condition.

Wherever they came, they were importuned by the common people for aſſiſtance of proviſions. There was even a Portugueſe, who, by his dreſs, ſeemed to be an officer, and who offered one of my men ten Spaniſh dollars, to be taken on board my ſhip, promiſing to do the duty of a common ſailor, if he could but get away from this wretched country, where he expected in a ſhort time to die of hunger.

As I now found that neither any refreſhments, nor any water, were to be procured here, I determined to depart with all ſpeed, and proſecute my voyage. I left two letters to be forwarded to Holland, one of which

was

was for the directors of the East-India Company, informing them of the situation of my ship and crew. I sent the governor two or three cheese, and some stockfish, to induce him to take particular care of my letters; he received my present with many thanks, and assured me, he would, without fail, dispatch the letters by some opportunity for Europe.

On the 7th of April, early in the morning, we began to heave our anchors; but the common bower came home without a stock, and with all the force we could bring to man the capstan, we could not move the best bower; we, therefore, determined to cut the cable, to get the ship out of her dangerous situation, which we did, and got under sail about half past seven o'clock.

The first day after we left *St. Jago*, it blew hard from the N.E. but the wind slackened in the following days; though we retained the N.E. tradewind till the 14th of April, in 4° north latitude; where we met with calms and variable winds, accompanied by thunder, lightning, and heavy showers of rain.

We availed of this opportunity to catch some rain-water, and, for two mornings running,

running, we ſecured ſeven or eight leagers, though the heavy rain did not laſt longer than two hours each time. This allowed me, with greater eaſe, to give the men plenty of water; by which I had the good fortune to find, that in a hot and unhealthy climate, where the thermometer was frequently above 82°, my ſhip was without a ſingle ſick man, except one of my lieutenants, and a gunners' mate, who had both, for years before, been valetudinarians.

To the circumſtance of being able to give them a plentiful allowance of water, I chiefly attributed the healthineſs of my crew, during the remainder of the voyage; and I have found, by experience, that no more water is expended, by having an open water-caſk upon deck, than when the crew are put upon an allowance of ten *muts* * per day, if care be taken that none of it be ſpilt, or unneceſſarily expended, which may eaſily be prevented by placing a centinel at the water-caſk.

The reaſon why the men derive more benefit from it, in this way, is, that the ſame quantity then ſerves them for four or five

* About two pints and a half. *T.*

draughts,

draughts, which they otherwiſe conſume at once, in the morning (the time when the allowance is given out), partly out of greedineſs, or from the thirſt which they have ſuffered during the night, and partly becauſe they have no means of keeping the remainder of their allowance. Hence, when they have thus drank up all at once, in the morning, they muſt, in a burning climate, endure the moſt dreadful thirſt, for the remainder of the four-and-twenty hours, which is not a little aggravated by the ſalt and dry nature of their proviſions.

I likewiſe took particular care that every thing was kept clean and neat between the decks, and conſtantly fumigated with gunpowder, juniper-berries, and frankincenſe, as well as ſprinkled with vinegar. When the calms and heat were exceſſive, I had two or three quarts of lemon-juice, put into a leager of water, which proved very refreſhing to the crew, and I mixed gentian-root, jeſuits' bark, and orange-peel, in their allowance of ſpirits: all which had a decided good effect upon the health of my people.

Calms, light, variable, and contrary winds, and currents, which laſt, I found, by two

two obſervations, ſet ſtrongly to the north-weſtward, accompanied us, before we paſſed the line, till the 25th of April, on which day, at noon, we were in 0° 50′ ſouth latitude.

This was a day of joy and merriment. I had ſome hogs and ſheep killed, and likewiſe ſome excellent ſoup made, to which a ſufficient quantity of lemon-juice was added; and their good cheer, both at noon and at night, which was encreaſed by half a pint of punch, which I gave to each man, ſo exhilarated the crew, that all was boiſterous joviality, with repeated ſongs, and uncouth dances, ſo that we rather ſeemed to be at a country-wake, than on board of a ſhip, bound on a diſtant voyage.

My ſatisfaction was enhanced by the reflection, that we had not one ſick man on board, and that all the people looked as hale and freſh, as if they were juſt come from ſhore.

As ſoon as we had paſſed the line, the ſea ſwarmed with fiſh, albicores, bonitos, flying-fiſh, and ſharks; and we caught a great many, which proved a ſeaſonable and agreeable refreſhment to the crew.

On the 9th of May, we had paſſed the

Abrolhos

Abrolhos ſhoals, and the next day the iſlands of *Trinidad* and *Aſcenſion*; I wiſhed much to have ſeen the laſt, but could diſcover no appearance of land, not even any birds, which made me think, that we were more to the eaſtward than we computed.

Two days afterwards, in 23½° ſouth latitude, under the tropic of capricorn, we loſt the eaſt tradewind, and met with variable winds, moſtly from the s.w. with which we ſteered s.e. till in 28½°, thence e.s.e. till in 33°, then eaſt by ſouth, till in 34½°, being the latitude of the weſt point of *Falſe*-bay, and laſtly eaſt, in a direct line for the ſame.

On the 19th of May, we ſaw, for the firſt time, the birds called cape-pigeons*. Theſe birds belong to the genus of gulls, and are of the ſize of our ſea-gulls, but have not ſuch long and pointed wings, and are heavier of flight. The head, and the back of the neck, are quite black, as is the tail, and the end of the wings, which are otherwiſe, together with the back, variegated with black and white ſpots; the breaſt and belly are entirely white. Theſe birds are met with, in large

* A diverſity of the ſpecies *larus caterrhactes*. *T.*

flocks,

flocks, both to the eaſt, and to the weſt, of the *Cape of Good Hope*, eſpecially in ſtormy weather.

Beſides theſe, we ſaw likewiſe a number of other birds, moſt of which belonged to the genus of gulls. Of theſe, the *mantel-meeuwen* * were the handſomeſt; they are about half as large again as the former, of a ſnowwhite colour, with black wings. Likewiſe another ſort, of the ſame ſize, which were wholly black, with yellow bills.

We ſaw alſo the dead body of a *noordkaper*, or ſpermaceti-whale †, floating by us; we gueſſed it to be fifty feet in length: a great number of cape-pigeons, and other ſea-birds, were ſitting and feeding upon it.

Till the 23d of May, we had almoſt continually had the fineſt and moſt agreeable weather that can be deſired at ſea, and which had only been interrupted, now and then, though very ſeldom, by a ſhort ſtorm.

We now, however, began to experience a change. The wind blew harder from day to day; the ſea ran higher; the ſun was

* The *larus marinus*, or great black and white gull of PENNANT. T.

† *Phyſeter macrocephalus*.

ſometimes

ſometimes hidden from us for entire days; the cold encreaſed ſo much, that the thermometer declined, at times, even in the middle of the day, to 56°; ſo that all conſpired to prove to us, that the winter, or bad monſoon, is as unpleaſant in theſe parts, as the months of November and December are in Europe; I muſt, however, except froſt, but inſtead of it, we had violent ſhowers of rain and hail.

Although the winds blew hard, and often encreaſed into a ſtorm, with a high-running ſea, yet they ſhortened our paſſage, as they were conſtantly favourable.

On the 29th of May, however, the wind had encreaſed to ſuch a pitch, that although, with reſpect to the point whence it blew, it was favourable for us, we were obliged to lye by, as the mountainous waves were no more to be avoided, and threatened to overwhelm us at every time; in addition to which, the head-way of the ſhip was ſo great, that we could ſcarcely ſteer her.

The next day, the wind abated a little, ſo that we could again make ſail, and follow our courſe.

We had, however, a continuance of high

winds, eſpecially from the N.W. with rain and dark weather; and ſometimes it ſuddenly veered, with a violent ſquall, to the S.W. after which it generally grew more calm.

From the 25th of May to the 3d of June, we had ſailed over a ſpace of three hundred and forty German leagues; at noon, on that day, the wind began to encreaſe in violence from the weſtward, and in the evening, it had grown into a ſtorm, with dark rainy weather, ſo that we were obliged to hand almoſt all our ſails.

This, however, was nothing compared to the next day, the 4th of June, when, about eight o'clock, A.M. the tempeſt blew with ſuch dreadful violence, and in ſuch heavy ſqualls, that it exceeded all deſcription. The ſtupendous waves, which ſeemed to reach the clouds, broke againſt, and ſometimes over, the ſhip with ſuch force, that had we not had a ſhuſh-deck, that is, one that lies even from ſtem to ſtern, I do not believe that we ſhould have preſerved one of our maſts, not to ſay any thing of worſe accidents.

Fortunately, both wind and ſea began to abate

abate towards the evening, we ſhould otherhave paſſed a very diſmal night.

After midnight, when the wind had veered to s.w. the weather cleared up a little; and we again ſet our ſails, and purſued our courſe, without having ſuffered any material damage.

We had favourable weſterly winds, although generally blowing hard, with hazy weather, till the 8th of June, when they changed to s.e. with the new moon, and thus turned againſt us exactly a day too ſoon; as, by all ſigns, namely, the variation of the compaſs, the ſeeing of ſeals, trumpet-weed, petrels and pintados, and the change in the colour of the water, we were warranted in our expectations of ſeeing land the next day.

The s.e. and eaſt winds continued till the 15th of June, when it fell calm. But, towards noon, we got a breeze from the s.w. with which we endeavoured to make ſome northing, as we found ourſelves in the ſouth latitude of 35½°.

On the 17th, we experienced a ſudden change, and a heavy ſquall from the weſt and n.w.

As we thought ourſelves ſo near the land,

we durſt not ſtand on with this wind, which was accompanied by thunder, lightning, and hail, but towards evening, we took in all our ſails, except the main and mizen ſtayſails, under which we lay by during the night.

The ſea, forced on by the violence of the rain and hail, ran ſo high, and broke with ſo much violence againſt the ſides of the ſhip, that ſhe was frequently under water to leeward, as far as the hatches, and the yard-arms ſwept the ſurface of the ſea.

This weather continued till the 19th, when the wind abated a little, and enabled us to make ſail. In the forenoon, we ſteered N.E. in order to make the land. In the afternoon, we ſaw two ſeals and a whale, which made us expect to diſcover the land every moment; but the weather growing hazy, and the evening beginning to fall, we again loſt all hope of it.

In order, however, that we might not overſhoot the land, we judged it adviſable, to bring to, and wait till daylight.

We ſounded with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom. But at half paſt nine in the evening, we got

ſoundings

ſoundings in ninety fathoms. This indicated, that had the weather been clear, we ſhould have ſeen the land at ſunſet.

Unfortunately, the N.W. wind had encreaſed to ſuch a degree, after ſunſet, that the proximity of our deſtined port, was of no avail, for it lay in the exact direction whence the wind blew; and we were, on the contrary, forced to make ſail off ſhore, not knowing how far we were from the land, and being ſure that if the wind veered round to the ſouth or S.W. we ſhould run the greateſt danger of loſing both the ſhip, and our lives.

We were driven along, on the reef of *Anguillas*, in this ſtorm, from the northweſt, till the 22d of June, in the forenoon of which day, the weather abated, in ſo far, that we could ſet our lower ſails, and the main top-ſail with three reeves; flattering ourſelves with the hope that we ſhould ſoon meet with a favourable gale.

This was, however, but of ſhort duration, for the wind again grew to ſuch a head, about half paſt two o'clock, P.M. that we were forced to hand all our ſails; and at four, the ſtorm had become a perfect hur-

ſcene *, which continued to rage with the greateſt fury, till about midnight, the wind inceſſantly veering round from north to s.s.e. with violent hail, thunder, and lightning. The ſky and the ſea were, in appearance, ſo thoroughly blended and confounded, that it was only cloſe to the ſhip, that we could diſtinguiſh what was really ſea. We ſeemed to be enveloped in impenetrable obſcurity, while the lurid light afforded by the inceſſant lightning ſhooting cloſe down by the ſhip, ſerved only to perplex and dazzle the ſight, and to encreaſe the awefulneſs of the ſcene. The ſurges, towering above our heads, fell upon the ſtern and ſides of the veſſel with hideous violence, and threatened, every moment, to overwhelm us entirely; the force of the waves frequently made the ſhip

* The denomination of hurricane, belongs properly to that ſpecies of tempeſt, in which the wind, blowing with the utmoſt fury, does not come from any fixed quarter, but runs round from north, to weſt, and through ſouth, to eaſt, raiſing the billows, on all ſides, with repeated blaſts, and accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, ſo that all the elements ſeem to be intermingled in one confuſion. All this took place in the hurricane here mentioned, with the exception, that, in in the eight hours which it continued, the wind, inſtead of running all round the compaſs, was confined between north and s.s.e.—*S.*

heel

heel ſo much, that ſhe was under water on one ſide as far as her maſts, while the howling wind, bearing perpendicularly down upon them, preſſed them, as it were, into the water, and kept the ſhip for ſeveral minutes ſeemingly in the very action of overſetting.

As nothing could now be done, by the art of man, we were forced to abandon the ſhip to the power of the winds and waves, and the mercy of heaven.

In this tremendous conjuncture, we owed our preſervation, next to God, to the conſtruction of our veſſel; for although ſhe was expoſed, without any guidance, to the fury of the ſea, and the tempeſt, and was often wholly overwhelmed by the waves, the water could not penetrate any where, but flowed off on all ſides, when ſhe roſe again; whereas had ſhe been a deep-waiſted ſhip, ſhe would infallibly have been water-logged, and would, at leaſt, have rolled away her maſts, if not foundered.

It is difficult to conceive, why this manner of building has only been adopted, for the Eaſt-India Company's ſhips, by the chamber of *Zealand*; for it is incontrovertable, that a ſuſh-decked ſhip is much more able to with-

ſtand the force of the waves, than a deep-waiſted one.

After midnight, the ſtorm began to abate a little, but the wind was ſtill too high to admit of any ſail being bent. I, however, directed the flying jibſail to be ſpread in the mainchains, to leeward, in order to give the ſhip ſome ſtem, againſt the violent rolling.

The next day, at ſix o'clock, A.M. the high wind changed ſuddenly to a dead calm, which, however, laſted no more than four or five minutes, when it again blew a violent ſtorm from S.S.E. accompanied by hail; but it ſubſided by degrees during the forenoon, after which we purſued our voyage, with a fair wind, and fine weather, for *Falſe*-Bay.

By the bad weather, which had thus continued for ſeveral days, we computed that we had been driven a great way to the eaſtward of Cape *Anguillas:* but on the next day, being the 24th of June, about one o'clock, P.M. getting ſight of the land of *Africa*, we found that we were much more to the weſtward, than we had reckoned, ſince we had firſt ſtruck ſoundings, which muſt only be aſcribed to the currents which now ſet forwards, or towards the eaſt. What

confirmed

confirmed me in this opinion was, that, according to a journal of the ſhip *Baarzande*, commanded by that very intelligent and experienced ſeaman, Captain HARINGMAN, his ſhip had been carried one hundred and eight leagues more to the weſtward, than by her reckoning, in the ſpace of fifteen days, ſince ſhe had firſt fallen in with the coaſt of *Africa*, near *Punto Primeiras*.

But our reckoning, ſince our laſt obſervation at the iſland *St. Jago*, on the 7th of April, differed more from our true ſituation; for we computed that we had ſailed one hundred and thirty leagues more than we, in reality, found to be the caſe.

The next morning, we endeavoured to work into *Falſe*-Bay, but were firſt fruſtrated by its falling calm, and on the enſuing day by a ſtorm from the N.W. which drove us out to ſea, and prevented us from making the bay again till the 28th.

The day after, we were fortunate enough to caſt anchor within the bay, on the weſt ſhore, in thirty-eight fathoms, about a league and a half from *Simon*'s-Bay, which we could not reach, on account of its falling calm.

I had, at this time, three hundred and fifty men

men on board, who were in perfect health, and I had loſt no more than nine, ſince leaving *Zealand*.

On the next day, being the 30th of June, the wind blew hard from the north; I ſhould, nevertheleſs, have endeavoured to work up to the anchorage, if I had then known that it was ſo near; but the Company's chart, which I afterwards found to be of no uſe to me, together with what one of my lieutenants told me, who had before been here in a ſubordinate ſtation, induced me to think, that this could not be effected in one day, for which reaſon, I choſe to remain at anchor where I was, till the wind became a little favourable.

But the time was not yet come, to put a period to our wanderings; for, in the evening of the 30th of June, the wind again rapidly encreaſed, and at half paſt nine o'clock, our anchor began to drag, and the ſhip ſwung with her head towards the ſhore, ſo that we had only time to cut the cable, to come round before the wind, and put to ſea again, being in the utmoſt danger of ſtriking upon the rocks of the weſt point.

The ſtorm, which drove us from our anchor,

anchor, laſted till the 5th of July, when it ſubſided, and we again got ſight of the coaſt of *Africa*, near *Rio Dulce*.

We ſtill were tormented, ſometimes by ſtorms, and ſometimes by contrary winds, till the 12th of July, when we found ourſelves, at daybreak, under the eaſt point of *False*-Bay, called the *Hanglip*.

Although the wind then blew from the S.W. with much force, and the ſea ran very high, we were fortunate enough to weather the point, and at two o'clock, P.M. to anchor in the outer road of *Simon*'s Bay; but as it then fell calm, we could not get farther; and though we made every exertion to warp in, we could not effect it. The reſident of the bay, came on board of me, the ſame afternoon, and I delivered the Company's papers to him.

On arriving here, we counted twenty-five men on the ſickliſt, ten or twelve of whom were down by external accidents, and, as beforeſaid, nine had died ſince our departure from *Zealand*.

The next day, being the 13th of July, we warped in, between the *Rooman*'s Rock, and

and the *Ark*, which is equally a rock above water, and anchored in twelve fathoms.

False-Bay is a large and deep inlet, ſituated to the ſoutheaſt of *Table*-Bay and *Capetown* and caſtle. Its weſt ſide is formed by a range of mountains, which run from the *Lion's* Mountain, ſouthward, and terminate in the ſea, ſeven leagues off, with a low point, upon which, however, there are two middling high hills, by which it is diſtinguiſhable. This ridge makes a bend, from *Simon's* Bay, to the northeaſtward, nearly a league and a half in length, and ends at a place, where there is a poſt of the Company, called *Muizenburg*. Thence, for three leagues eaſt, the beach is beſet with low ſandhills, at the end of which it trends ſoutheaſt, for about two leagues, till it reaches a chain of high mountains, which form the boundary of *Hottentot Holland*, and terminate in the ſea, two leagues farther to the ſouth, in a very remarkable hill, called the *Hanglip*.

The mouth of the bay, from the *Hanglip*, to the weſt point, which lie eaſt and weſt from each other, is full four German leagues broad;

broad; its extent inland may be a little more.

Along the weſt ſhore, where there is every where good anchorage, as well as in the middle of the bay, though in deep water, there are ſeveral bights, which are alſo called bays, as *Buffalo*-Bay, *Kalk*, or *Lime*, Bay, &c. in which ſhips may lie at anchor, but they are no where ſheltered from the ſouth-eaſt winds, except in *Simon*'s Bay, which runs farther in, and is covered by two rocks at the entrance, upon which the ſoutheaſt ſwell of the ſea breaks, and behind them, ſhips lie ſheltered from all winds, or, as our ſeamen expreſs it, ſea-blind. Twenty ſhips may lie here with eaſe, at once, to take in water and refreſhments.

Beſides the Company's hoſpital, their magazine, and ſhambles, there are only four or five houſes here, one of which is inhabited by the reſident, who had formerly the rank of junior merchant, but was now book-keeper.

The hoſpital is an edifice, in which one hundred patients can, with eaſe, be admitted. It is built upon the brow of a hill. It has a triple front towards the ſea. The

apart-

apartments, which are lofty, and without ceiling, are very airy. In the center is a large square court; ſo that the ſick here, have always freſh air, which contributes largely to their recovery. The hoſpital at the *Cape*, as we have before obſerved *, is deſtitute of this advantage; whence, likewiſe, twice as many of the patients die there as here.

The hoſpital formerly ſtood upon the beach, where now the magazines and workſhops are placed; theſe laſt form one long building, which, however, is only twenty feet in breadth.

We found two Engliſh ſhips lying at anchor here, bound to *Madras* and *Bengal*. On board of one of them, had embarked, Lieutenant General CLAVERING, who was ſent out to take the command of the military in *Bengal*, in behalf of the king; he was accompanied by Colonel MONSON, and other officers; there were likewiſe ſome counſellors of juſtice on board, for *Bengal*, where the Engliſh poſſeſſions were about to be put upon a different footing.

Beſides theſe, there were three French ſhips anchored in the bay. The largeſt,

* See page 550, of volume II.

commanded

commanded by M. DE ST. HILAIRE, was bound to *Surat*, and had on board M. DE BREINCOURT, French conſul of that place.

This ſhip, called the *Duc d'Arras*, had been built for the king, and to carry ſeventy-four guns, but ſhe was now private property.

The captain, although not in the ſervice of the king, but only in that of private individuals, when he firſt came here, ſome time before, had been much diſſatisfied that his ſalute had not been returned, although the government had taken care to apprize him, before he ſaluted, that, according to a reſolution of the council of India, they were not allowed to return the ſalute of any French ſhip, not in the king's, or Company's, ſervice. This gentleman was highly affronted at this, becauſe he conceived, that his having recently been favoured by the king, with an order of knighthood, was a ſufficient qualification, to be looked upon as a king's officer, and he threatened to take ſatisfaction for the ſlight put upon him, by attacking the Eaſt-India Company's ſhip *Alkemade*, which lay at anchor here.

Whether the government were afraid that he would put this menace in execution, and thereby

thereby endanger a Company's ſhip, or whether any other reaſons ſwayed them to change their reſolution, I cannot tell; but only, that, to make an end of this diſpute, the *Alkemade* received orders to return the Frenchman's ſalute, a long while after it was made, with an equal number of guns.

The inhabitants of the *Cape*, complained, in general, of the inſolent behaviour of the French, who, it was ſaid, were much more favoured by the government, than any other nation.

CHAP-

CHAPTER II.

Journey to CAPETOWN.—*The Welzand, or Quick-ſand.*—MUIZENBURG.—*Militia, and Means of Defence, at the* CAPE.—*An Excurſion inland.*—*Remarks on the planting of Vines, and preſſing of Wine.*—*Rivers inland ſometimes are large Streams, and ſometimes run dry.*—*Deſcription of a large Farm.*—*Diſeaſes of the Cattle.*—*Account of the Farmer.*—*Converſation with him on the Produce, &c. of the Country.*—*Tithes and Duties paid to the Company.*—*Farm of Wine and Spirituous Liquors.*—*Plans for Improvement.*—MUSCLE *and* SALDANHA *Bays fit Objects of Attention.*—*Hoſpitality of an African Coloniſt.*—*Their happy Lives.*—*Village of* STELLENBOSCH.—HET MODDERGAT.—HOTTENTOT HOLLAND.—*Abuſe of Authority by one of the Governors, with Regard to this Tract.*—*Friendly Reception at another Farmer's.*—*Further Enquiries and Particulars reſpecting the Produce and Trade of the* CAPE.—MUSCLE, AGVA, SALDANHA, *and* ST. HELENA *Bays.*—*The Seat called* VERGELEEGEN.—*Return to* CAPETOWN.—*Short Stay of the Ship, the Occaſion of much Diſeaſe afterwards among the Crew.*—*Return to* TABLE-*Bay of a Veſſel*

that had been driven far to the South.—Return to FALSE-*Bay.—Arrival of a Ship from Holland with a great Number of Sick.*

EVERY thing being in due order on board of my ſhip, and my preſence not being further neceſſary, I made an engagement, on the 14th of July, with three gentlemen, to ride to the *Cape*.

We ſet off about one o'clock; the road firſt led along the beach, the ſea being on our right, and a high ridge of mountains on our left, which hung over us. After riding for about an hour, we came to a place, which is called the *Welzand*, or *Quickſand*.

The mountains here take a large bend inland, and form a ſandy valley, which extends to the ſeaſhore, and is peculiarly dangerous for travellers, as it does not unfrequently happen, that people, ignorant of the circumſtance, getting into the looſe ſand, are in great danger of ſinking into it, and being buried alive, if ſpeedy aſſiſtance be not at hand to extricate them.

Two days before I paſſed here, an Engliſhman, who belonged to one of the ſhips in the bay, got into this place with his horſe, in the

the evening, and he would moſt probably have loſt his life, had he not inſtantly, as ſoon as he felt his horſe ſinking under him, ſprang off and got away, while the animal was preſently ſwallowed up in the ſand, and ſtifled, without his rider being able to give him any aſſiſtance.

As I did not find any one, who had been inclined to examine this part with accuracy, or who could give any reaſon for the phenomenon of the ſand being ſo looſe, as to ſwallow up thoſe who attempted to paſs over it, and my own time, and opportunity, would not permit me to uſe my poor abilities for this purpoſe, I am wholly ignorant of the cauſes to which theſe circumſtances are to be attributed.

The ſureſt means of avoiding the danger of this road, which is about a quarter of a Dutch mile long, is by riding cloſe down by the ſea, or even through the ſurf, where the ground is hard; though here, likewiſe, prudence muſt be uſed; for if one ride too far through the waves, there is no little danger of being carried away by them.

A too great fear for the *Welzand*, had nearly coſt my ſecond lieutenant his life;

for riding too far through the water, he got out of his depth with his horſe, and the animal ſwam away from under him; fortunately he was an adept in the art, and he ſaved his life by ſwimming, reaching the ſhore at the ſame time with his horſe.

Nothing is produced in this ſandy valley, but in ſome places, a few green buſhes, which ſomewhat reſemble the broom that grows upon our downs.

Beſides this *Welzand*, there is another ſmaller paſſage, which is equally dangerous, from the ſame circumſtances, and lies about halfway between this and *Simon*'s-Bay.

Having paſſed this dangerous ſpot, at full gallop, in order to run the leſs peril of ſinking in, we came, a ſhort half hour afterwards, to a place called *Muizenburgh*, which is a poſt of the Company, who keep two or three men conſtantly on the look-out here, for the purpoſe of ſending immediate advice to the *Cape*, of the arrival of ſhips in *Falſe*-Bay, or their departure from it.

There are ſtables here belonging to the Company, which were erected, in the years 1755, and 1756, for the cavalry of the country, who, upon the leaſt alarm of an

enemy

enemy attempting to land in the neighbouring *Kalk* or *Lime*-Bay, muſt inſtantly repair thither, with ſome light artillery, to prevent their landing; or, if they have landed in ſome of the other bays higher up, their paſſage farther muſt here be diſputed, the place being of that nature, that fifty determined men, may ſtop the progreſs of ſeveral thouſands, for a conſiderable time; for the road is very narrow, with high mountains on one ſide, and a precipice of upwards of forty feet on the other, the bottom of which is waſhed by the ſea. The chain of mountains, which half incloſe *Falſe*-Bay, likewiſe terminates here.

After having taken ſome refreſhment, we followed the road which leads north into the country, leaving the vineyards of *Conſtantia* *, and ſome other farms and country-ſeats,

* Theſe conſiſt of two farms, called *Great* and *Little Conſtantia*. Their annual produce is, of red wine, about ſixty pipes, and of white, about ninety; yet the vintage here, as in other places, is different, in different years. Theſe two farms were for a long time the only ſpots which could produce this delicate wine; but lately ſome other farms in this diſtrict, and in a few other places, have been able to bring their wines to the ſame degree of excellence. But as the

ſeats, which lie here in an extenſive hollow between the mountains, on the leftſide, and the ſandhills, which are interſperſed over a large plain of ſeveral leagues in extent, producing nothing but ſome bruſhwood, and a few inſignificant thickets, on the right hand. Every thing bore a barren and ſandy appearance. We, however, met, at intervals, with a few rivulets, running down from the hills, out of which we let our horſes drink.

About half paſt five o'clock in the evening, we reached *Capetown*. I immediately waited upon the governor of the colony, Mr. VAN PLETTENBURG, and upon Mr. HEMMY, the ſecond in command, to acquaint them of my arrival.

The next day I converſed with the governor, more amply than the preceding evening, upon the ſubject of the ſituation of my ſhip and crew. I requeſted his excellency

Company reſerved to themſelves the excluſive ſale of Conſtantia wine, which conſequently was conſidered as contraband, and was not to be bought, or tranſported to Europe, under that name, by individuals, they hit upon the expedient of giving their wine, which in point of goodneſs does not yield to Conſtantia, the name of *maag*, or *ſtomach* wine. *T.*

to

to allow me to remain at leaſt for the ſpace of a fortnight where I was, in order that my people, who had been greatly fatigued by the length of the voyage, and eſpecially by the continued tempeſtuous weather we had experienced for the laſt five weeks, might be enabled, by the refreſhments to be obtained for them, to recover ſufficient ſtrength to encounter anew the boiſterous weather of a winter in the ſouthern latitudes: I likewiſe begged leave to ſend forty or fifty men on ſhore every day, in order, that by taking exerciſe among the hills, and by the effects of the land-air, the ſcorbutic tendency, which already began to manifeſt itſelf among them, might be combated. In both which inſtances the governor kindly complied with my deſires.

On the following Sunday I attended divine ſervice, and heard a moſt excellent diſcourſe, by the Reverend Mr. SERRURIER, who is really an eloquent preacher.

Dining that day with Mr. RONNEKAMP, the converſation at table turned upon the ſtate of defence of the country, and as that gentleman had acceſs to the ſecret affairs of the colony, I took the opportunity of aſking

him, how many men capable of bearing arms, he computed, could be muſtered at the *Cape*? He told me, that he could not determine this with accuracy, but that there were full one thouſand at the *Cape*, and twice as many of the country-people, who were enrolled, in order to take up arms upon any emergency *. As likewiſe that the number of the coloniſts could not be aſcertained, for that the colony was already ſo far extended, that the more diſtant farmers, required forty days (or rather nights, for they always travel by night), to ride with their

* In order, in ſuch a caſe, to apprize all the farmers, who live diſperſed far and wide over the country, of the impending danger, high poſts are erected all through the land, upon which lights are hoiſted at night: the chain of them begins at the caſtle, the next ſtation is at the *Zoute*, or *Salt*-river, and ſo on towards the country; upon the ſeeing of which ſignals, every one is obliged to repair armed to the caſtle.

When a youth is arrived at the age of fifteen, he muſt be enrolled, and every year he muſt reſort to the place of rendezvous, in order to perform his exerciſe. On this occaſion he muſt take the oath of allegiance. When a father has two ſons in the militia, he is himſelf exempt from duty. Theſe reviews, both of horſe and foot, are held every year, in the town for the burghers, and at *Stellenboſch* and *Zwellendam* for the farmers belonging to the colony. If any one neglect to appear at the rendezvous, he is fined. *T.*

waggons

waggons to the *Cape*; and that theſe, both in their manners and appearance, more reſembled Hottentots than Chriſtians.

As I had not much time to ſpend at the *Cape*, I arranged my affairs, ſo that I could make a little excurſion into the country for four or five days. For that purpoſe I made a party with Mr. ERNST (whom I had known as lieutenant of the cavalry at *Batavia*, and who was now here, with his wife, on his paſſage to Europe), and Meſſieurs VAN WIELINGEN, and LE SUEUR.

Having obtained the neceſſary permiſſion from the governor *, we left *Capetown*, at nine o'clock in the morning, taking with us a ſlave to attend upon our horſes.

We firſt rode to the *Zoute*-river, which we forded at half paſt nine, our horſes going into the water as far as their bellies; for the river had been encreaſed by the heavy rains, and the ſtream was pretty ſtrong.

Thence we rode, in an E.N.E. direction,

* As the coloniſts are enjoined by the laws, to ſeize and bring to the *Cape*, all ſuch as travel about the country, without being able to ſhew a permiſſion in writing for that purpoſe, a paſs from the governor is neceſſary. *T.*

to

to the *Tiger-valley*, where we ſtopped at eleven o'clock, at the farm of one EKSTEEN, to take ſome refreſhment, conſiſting of ſome bread and butter, and a good glaſs of wine.

Our road had hitherto led through a ſandy plain, upon which there grew nothing but a little bruſhwood; but we ſaw many cultivated tracts of country, at a diſtance, on the left hand, in the *Tiger*-Mountains.

After having ſtopped here for half an hour, we again mounted our horſes, and took our road a little more to the eaſtward, to the farm of VAN AS, ſituated on the ſlope of the *Boddelaary*, or *Butlery*-Mountains, which we reached at one o'clock. The man and woman of the houſe, received us in a very friendly manner, and gave us a diſh of tea, and a glaſs of good wine *, while our horſes were baiting.

We

* I have obſerved that we never drank any wine of one and the ſame flavour, at two different places; every ſoil that produces wine, gives a diſtinct taſte to it. The vines, which are planted by themſelves like currant-buſhes, are ſet in rows, three feet from each other, and when they are pruned, are not more than two, or two and a half, feet above the ground. They are planted in rows, and not cloſe to each other, in order

We ſtaid here for ſomething more than half an hour, and then purſuing our journey, we

order to afford room for the labourers to go between them, to weed the ground, without damaging the vines. A thouſand of them, it is calculated, will produce a leager of wine, and ſometimes more. ALBERTYN VAN DE KLAPMUTS, had a vineyard cloſe to his houſe, with fifty thouſand vineplants, which yielded him annually ſeventy leagers of wine. The preſſing of the grapes is performed in a more ſimple manner here than in Europe. The ſlaves gather them, and put them into a veſſel, the bottom and ſides of which are bored full of holes; this is ſet in the inſide of a larger one, upon a croſs-piece of wood laid at the bottom of the latter; this outſide veſſel has a ſpigot and faucet, through which the juice, as faſt as it is preſſed out, runs into a tub placed beneath. The grapes being heaped up, in the inner veſſel, to the brim, three or four ſlaves, after having waſhed their feet in a tub of water ſtanding at the ſide, get upon the fruit, and holding themſelves faſt by a rope fixed to the ceiling, trample upon it, and ſqueeze out the juice as long as they are able. In the mean time the muſt that runs out is put into large high veſſels to ferment. If the aperture be obſtructed by grapes, or ſtalks, ſo that the juice cannot eaſily run out, they puſh them away with a ſtick, to the end of which, a few bruſhes are fixed. The trodden grapes, before they are further preſſed, are put upon a coarſe ſtrainer, made of rattans, on which they are rubbed with the hand, till the huſks go through it; the ſtalks remaining behind, which are thrown away, as they are ſuppoſed to make the wine auſtere and bitter. The huſks are then put into the fermenting veſſel, which the next morning is in full fermentation; during this proceſs the thick parts ſubſide, and the muſt grows clear, when it is barrelled off,

we paſſed, ſome time afterwards, the *Keulſche*, or *Cologni*-river. This, as well as many other ſtreams in this country, little deſerves the name of river; for it was no more than a little rivulet, which could be paſſed on foot; yet Mr. VAN WIELINGEN aſſured me that it was ſometimes ſwollen ſo high, that the waggons and oxen were often obliged to tarry for ſeveral days, without being able to paſs it. At the *Cape* I was told by Mr. VAN SCHOOR, that the largeſt rivers, ſituated many days' journey inland, all run dry in the good monſoon, in January and February, although in the bad monſoon they were deep, rapid, and impaſſable ſtreams, ſo that the waggons were frequently obliged to ſtay a fortnight before them. Mr. VAN IMHOF had projected a plan for rendering them navigable, but it

off, being firſt filtered through a wicker baſket. The grounds remaining in the fermenting veſſel, are afterwards put into a ſquare veſſel pierced full of holes, and placed in a larger one with a ſpigot and faucet at the ſide; at the top there is a ſcrew of wood, or metal, by means of which the laſt drop of juice is preſſed out from the huſks. From the dregs and huſks that remain over from the laſt preſſing, brandy is diſtilled. No yeaſt is uſed for accelerating the fermentation. *T.*

had

had been demonſtrated that it was wholly impracticable.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the farm of MELK, which at a diſtance, and indeed cloſe by, appeared like a whole village. It lies among the mountains, upon the gentle declivity of a high ridge, and on the banks of an ever-running ſtream, which he has led, along his farm, between two brick walls, like a canal, and which turns a watermill, for the purpoſe of grinding his corn.

His dwelling-houſe, which was of a conſiderable ſize, had four or five large and handſome rooms, all furniſhed in a neat, and even in a coſtly ſtyle, ſo that it more reſembled a gentleman's villa than the manſion of a farmer.

Twenty-five, or thirty, paces from the corners of the houſe, he had four large barns, or warehouſes, each one hundred and fifty feet long, in which he houſed his corn and wine. Two of them were now empty; in the third were full one hundred and fifty leagers of wine; and in the fourth fifteen or ſixteen hundred *muds* of corn, twenty-ſeven of which make a Holland laſt, and eighteen

eighteen a laſt of the Cape; each *mud* being calculated at one hundred and eighty, or ninety, pounds weight Amſterdam, according as the grain be heavy or light.

Between theſe he had a blackſmiths' and carpenters' workſhop, and a cartwrights' manufactory, together with other work-people, neceſſary for ſo large and troubleſome a concern. But few of them were Europeans, the largeſt number were oriental ſlaves, who had coſt him a great deal of money. Among others, he ſhewed me a ſlave, who underſtood ſmiths' work, and making of tires on wheelbands, whom he had purchaſed for fifteen hundred rixdollars, or three thouſand ſix hundred gilders *.

A little higher up, ſtood a range of buildings, calculated for the ſlaves, of whom he had full two hundred; for he declared to me, that he did not know the exact number.

Every one had a ſeparate brick dwelling to ſleep in. Thoſe that were married were kept apart from the others; and every poſ-

* Upwards of 300*l.* ſterling. *T.*

ſible

ſible precaution was taken to prevent accidents by fire.

A little farther were two *kraals*, or incloſures for cattle; they were ſurrounded by high ſtone walls, of eight or ten feet, and contained each about two hundred and fifty acres. The ſheep, the horſes, and the horned cattle were confined at night in theſe, for ſecurity againſt the attacks of wild beaſts, eſpecially of wolves and tigers, who do not unfrequently make a great havock here, among the ſmaller-ſized cattle. He calculated the numbers of his ſheep by thouſands; and reſpecting his horned cattle, a ſmall proof of the numerouſneſs of his herds, was his informing me, in a careleſs manner, and as if it were a circumſtance of no conſideration, that he had loſt one hundred and twenty head of cattle, a few days before, by the diſeaſes called the *klaauw* and *tongziekte* *.

There

* Theſe diſeaſes of the cattle are peculiar to the *Cape of Good Hope*. In the *klaauwziekte*, the hoofs of the cattle grow looſe, ſo that they cannot walk; it appears to proceed from the ſummer-heats, eſpecially if the oxen have been driven on journies in the daytime; it is thought infectious, and whole drowes

There were ſeveral other ſmaller outhouſes and offices, for various purpoſes, relative to the economy of the farm.

Beſides

droves are ſucceſſively affected by it; it, however, in general, leaves the cattle, of its own accord, in the courſe of one or two weeks. In the *tongziekte*, veſicles, or bladders, break out on the tongue, diſcharging a thin ichorous matter; in conſequence of this diſtemper, the cattle cannot eat, but grow lean, and ſometimes die; the farmers are accuſtomed to rub the bladders off with ſalt. Beſides theſe, the cattle are liable to other diſeaſes, which ſometimes prove fatal. The *blaar*, or *bloedziekte*, is a diſorder, in which the veins all over the body become extremely turgid; letting of blood and violent exerciſe are ſaid to be ſerviceable in it; the fleſh of the cattle who die of it, is not eatable. The *ſponſziekte* begins by the ſwelling of the foot, which proceeds by degrees to the whole body; this diſorder ſometimes laſts for three days, but at other times proves fatal in as many hours; if the foot be taken off immediately, the creature's life may be ſaved: the fleſh of ſuch an animal is likewiſe not eatable: it ſeems to proceed from no other cauſe than the bite of ſome ſerpent, or reptile, which, in this warm quarter of the globe, is but too common. The *lomziekte*, is when the cattle are not able to ſtand; it comes on gradually, and is ſlow in its progreſs; after the death of the animal, the bones of its legs are found to be without marrow, inſtead of which they are filled with water. The horned cattle, as well as horſes, are afflicted with the ſtrangury, after feeding on the *euphorbia geniſtoides*, which contains a milky juice, that does no injury to the ſtomach and bowels, but corrodes the bladder, and eſpecially obſtructs the urinary paſſages; if the penis be preſſed, this viſcid matter is ſqueezed out; the peaſants, therefore, either

preſs

Beſides this, he was owner of ſeven or eight other farms, upon which he had placed ſtewards, who managed them in his behalf, upon hire. Some of theſe produced corn, ſome wine, and ſome were ſimply deſtined for paſturage.

With all this, MELK could neither read nor write; but having a good memory, he had the whole in his head of what was neceſſary for the due management of his extenſive concerns, for which any other would require a number of books, and a great deal of writing.

He was a native of *Pruſſia*, and had arrived at the *Cape*, many years ago, in a very low ſtation. Underſtanding the burning of lime, the making of bricks, and ſomething of agriculture, he had entered, as head-ſervant, into the ſervice of the former proprietor of this farm, but which, at that time, had not by far the ſame extent as at

preſs it out, or with a ſtraw puſh it back again. When the cattle are ſupplied with good and freſh water, this diſeaſe cannot get the upper-hand; but in ſummer, when the water is thick and impure, ſo that it cannot dilute the peccant matter, the cattle die. As a remedy for this diſtemper the farmers give their cattle a teacup-full of powdered oſtrich egg-ſhells, mixed with vinegar. *T.*

preſent. When his maſter died, he married the widow (which does not unfrequently happen in this country), and extending his enterprizes from day to day, he at length obtained from the Company, the excluſive farm for the ſale of wine and ſpirituous liquors, by which he cleared one hundred thouſand gilders * in one year, chiefly by the arrival of the French fleet at the *Cape*. This enabled him to undertake ſtill more important objects, ſo that he once bought up all the wine produced in the country, which amounted to ſome thouſands of leagers. Though this did not conduce to the benefit of the public, yet it ſufficiently ſhews the ſpirit of enterprize which animated the man.

Two things in him excited, in particular, both my admiration and ſurprize. In the firſt place, his ſteady love for his king, of whom he always ſpoke with the deepeſt reſpect and affection; he decorated the chimneypieces, and other parts of his houſe, with the arms of his ſovereign, and cheriſhed a fond attachment to his perſon. The other

* About 9000*l.* ſterling. *T.*

circumſtance

circumſtance I allude to, was his gratitude towards his wife, by whoſe means, he invariably declared, he had become the man he was; he would not ſuffer her to be put to the leaſt trouble in any thing, however trifling; and was anxious that ſhe ſhould live entirely at her eaſe, and take every diverſion in her power: he even took upon himſelf the care of managing the houſes, ſo that his wife had her time entirely to herſelf.

Finding that he ſpoke with much intelligence, reſpecting the ſituation of the country, as I, in fact, had before been informed was the caſe, I aſked him his opinion of the plan at preſent in agitation, of exporting the produce of the *Cape* to Holland. He aſſured me, that this would, in time, be of great benefit to the colony, and moſt probably alſo to the Company; but that to effect this purpoſe, other means muſt be put in practice, and better arrangements made, than had hitherto taken place.

In the firſt place, he ſaid that the Company ought to erect ſtorehouſes in various parts, where the produce of the country could be received, from time to time, when

the farmers had opportunities of conveying it from their farms, to thoſe places, in the good ſeaſon, or as ſoon as the harveſt was got in, in January and February; for the rivers and roads were at that time the eaſieſt paſſable: whereas the conveyance was otherwiſe both difficult and expenſive: and that the corn would ſtand the Company in much leſs, if this method were adopted.

Further, that the tithes, which the Company exacted of the corn grown, were of detriment, inſtead of producing an advantage for the farmers; who, for inſtance, grew five hundred *muds* of corn, only declared one hundred, which they ſold at a high rate, while the other four hundred were diſpoſed of at a much lower price under the hand, by indirect means, in order to avoid payment of the tithes *.

That

* Van Renen told me, that the tithes on the wine were calculated at three rixdollars per leager.

That further, the Company's duties conſiſted in two and a half per cent on the ſale of immoveable property; but that buildings erected ſince the year 1750, were charged twice as much; thus five per cent.

That

That the ſervants of the Company, at the *Cape*, to whom the purchaſe is confided, ſhould act more diſintereſtedly, and not ſo arbitrarily towards the farmers, whom they, in fact, were even apt to defraud.

That the overſeers of theſe ſtorehouſes would be able to avail of the beſt opportunities for purchaſe, when the produce was at the cheapeſt; houſing it in them, till the time of diſpatching it to the *Cape*.

That, eſpecially, ſuch ſtorehouſes ought to be erected at *Moſſel*, or *Muſcle*, and *Saldanha*, Bays, as the Company could, in both places, fetch the produce, direct, by their ſhips, inſtead of its being, as at preſent, firſt conveyed to the *Cape* by land-carriage, where

That the farming of the wine conſiſts herein, that whoever is the farmer, has the excluſive right of ſelling wine and ſpirituous liquors in ſmaller quantities than by the half-awm: that foreigners are obliged to pay five rixdollars to him for each leager which they take away; our own nation is exempted herefrom, but they may not buy wine from any other perſon, as long as their ſhip has not received her diſpatches; but if there be any time afterwards, they may purchaſe it of other individuals.

The Cape wines, as the country people ſay, muſt be twice drawn off the lees every year, without any other preparation than being fumigated with brimſtone.

their ſervants, who muſt all derive their emolument from it, receive, or reject it, at their own good pleaſure *.

And finally, that the land all round the above bays, was very fit for the production of corn; nay, better than in other parts; ſo that one *mud* ſown, commonly yielded an encreaſe of ſixty or ſeventy, while, at moſt other places, between ten and twenty, and ſometimes thirty, *muds* was the uſual harveſt from one *mud* of ſeed. That the Company would doubtleſs be able to purchaſe wheat there at one rixdollar per *mud*; whereas they now paid eighteen, twenty, and ſometimes twenty-four, rixdollars per cartload of ten *muds*, becauſe the conveyance by wheel-carriage is ſo expenſive to the farmers, that they could not do it at all,

* Van Wielingen was of opinion, that if the Company would allow a ſociety of ten, or a dozen, farmers, of ſome property, to be formed, for the purpoſe of undertaking the cultivation of the land at *Muſcle*-Bay; who, without having any thing to do with the ſheriff of the diſtrict, might take as many Hottentots into their ſervice as they liked, and pay them what wages they could mutually agree upon, without his interference; the beneficial effects of ſuch a meaſure would ſpeedily be perceived.

if

if they did not receive the above prices per cartload *.

I ſhould have liked to have ſtayed a little longer with this man, that I might procure further information from him on theſe intereſting topics; but it was evening, and we had to ride a good hour before we could reach the place where we were to paſs the night.

We left MELK's eſtate about half paſt five o'clock, and at half paſt ſix, we came to ALBERTYN's farm, lying at the foot of a mountain, called *de Klapmuts*, where we paſſed the night.

I found in this farmer unadulterated nature. Sincerity, friendlineſs, and benevolence, were the amiable qualities of himſelf, his wife, his two ſons, and two marriageable daughters.

They laid before us the beſt of what they had, and the ingenuous cordiality of theſe happy and unoffending children of nature, ſeemed to me a true picture of the period whence

"The fabling poets took their golden age;"

* DE VOS, together with other farmers whom I converſed with on the ſubject, told me the ſame thing; alſo, that every cartload is reckoned at thirteen hundred pounds weight.

when humanity and benevolence reigned in the earth, and falſity and deceit were unknown. I could not ſufficiently admire the ſincere, the artleſs, affection which manifeſted itſelf in the father, mother, brothers, and ſiſters, and formed the felicity of the whole family; an affection, which, however ſtrongly dictated by nature, and enforced by religion, we may often ſeek for in vain among our European countrymen. Happy, thrice happy mortals, who, ſituated at the extremity of the globe, amidſt the wilds of Africa, formerly ſo barren and deſolate, though now fertiliſed and embelliſhed by your labour, can lead a life of content and innocence! I was frequently ſo wrapped up in theſe thoughts, that I ſcarcely heard what was ſaid to me.

The next day, at nine o'clock in the morning, we left this agreeable place, to ride on to *Stellenboſch*, where we arrived at ten.

This is a pleaſant village, conſiſting of forty or fifty houſes, built along two broad ſtreets, which are planted with trees on both ſides. The church, which ſtands at the north end of the village, is a ſmall but neat

edifice,

edifice, having ſufficient room for a congregation of full two hundred people: a circular ſpace round it, walled off, is the churchyard, and the entrance is through a handſome iron-gate. A miniſter, a clerk, and a ſexton, belong to this church.

The houſe of the *landdroſt*, or ſheriff, of *Stellenboſch*, which office was then filled by Mr. BERGH, deſerves equally to be taken notice of, on account of its ſpacious and handſome apartments.

After having walked through the village, and ſtopped for about half an hour at the houſe of Mr. VION, we proceeded, at eleven o'clock, for the farm of the widow GROENENWALD, lying a ſhort half-hour's ride to the northeaſt, at the foot of a range of mountains, which make here a hollow, or *cul-de-ſac*, called *Jan Jonkerſhoek*.

We dined here, and about two oclock ſet out again for *Hottentot Holland*. Our way led us firſt back through *Stellenboſch*, and then to the ſouth, over ſeveral ridges, which are high enough to deſerve of themſelves the name of mountains, but which were low in compariſon to the towering ſummits of thoſe on our left hand, which

were,

were, for a great part, covered with more.

Having proceeded full a quarter of an hour ſouth from *Stellenboſch*, we paſſed the *firſt*, or *Stellenboſch*, river. This runs, with a rapid ſtream, over a bed of large pebbles, which have, from time to time, being waſhed down from the mountains, by the torrents. Notwithſtanding its rapidity, it is very ſhallow, for in fording it, the water did not riſe higher than the knees of our horſes.

Thence the road led along ſome uncultivated ſpots, till, at half paſt four o'clock, we reached a large and deep hollow, which is called *het Moddergat*, or the *Mudhole*. In it lay ſeven farms; which produced much wine, and but very little corn.

About half paſt five o'clock, riding round the foot of the *Heldere*, or *Clear*, Mountain, we entered *Hottentot Holland*, and preſently afterwards we came to the farm of De Vos.

Hottentot Holland is a flat country, and has derived its name from its reſemblance, in this reſpect, to our own.

It lies within a range of hills, that ſurround it on the north, eaſt, and ſouth. To the weſt, a flat ſandy beach, of full half a Dutch

Dutch mile in breadth, extends along the ſide of *Falſe*-Bay.

I computed this tract of country to be about four Dutch miles in circumference; it contains eight farms, or cultivated ſpots of ground.

In the beginning of this century, Governor VAN DER STEL had appropriated to himſelf the whole of this diſtrict, or had granted ſome parts of it to his particular favourites, among which was one parſon S——, of whom it was ſaid, by old people, who had known him in their youth, that he laboured with more zeal in extending and improving his vineyards and cornfields upon earth, than the ſpiritual vineyard to which his vocation ought to have rendered him more attentive.

He was once preaching at the *Cape*, and hearing ſeveral carts ride by the church, he ſuddenly ſtopped in the middle of his ſermon, and called out to the clerk, "Pri-" thee, my friend, look out, and ſee whether " that is my wine which is going by."

The object of Mr. VAN DER STEL was, that all the corn and wine wanted by the Company, ſhould, in time, be only furniſhed by him, or his minions and dependants, that,

by

by that means, the coloniſts might be impoveriſhed; his maxim being, that people in a ſtate of indigence and dependence, are the eaſieſt to be governed *.

The farm of De Vos was the place where we intended to paſs the night; it is, in fact, the firſt that occurs on entering *Hottentot Holland* from the ſide of *Stellenboſch*. Although it was already dark, and five of us came together, for a ſon of the widow Groenenwald had joined us, in order to ſhew us the way, we received a hearty welcome from this hoſpitable countryman, and were ſoon as eaſy and familiar together, as if we had known each other our whole lives.

We obſerved no derangement, or extraordinary buſtle in the family, on account of ſo

* Since the abuſe of authority by Governor van der Stel, and by ſeveral others of the Company's ſervants, they have been ſtrictly prohibited from holding any farms. In lieu thereof, ſeveral perquiſites have been allowed them; ſuch as the *d'ſpenſier*, or purveyor, five per cent on all wares imported or exported, the collector has two and a half per cent on the monies, the ſtorekeeper four, the commiſſary of the hoſpital five, and the inſpector of the auctions five per cent, on all goods ſold by auction; and all this, beſide their uſual monthly ſalary. So that it is only ſome few of the higher people in office that have a ſmall villa for their pleaſure near the Cape, but whence no commodities may be carried out, or diſpoſed of.

many unexpected gueſts. A good ſupper of nine diſhes, and comfortable ſeparate beds for each of us, proved that we were not the firſt who had experienced the hoſpitality of theſe honeſt people.

As the chief inducement for my making this little excurſion, was to obtain ſome knowledge of the ſituation, and the produce of the country, as well as to diſcover what could conduce to the furtherance of the plan of the Company in agitation, before alluded to, and on which head I was ſure of procuring much better, and more impartial, information from the country people, than from the Company's ſervants at the *Cape*, I equally made particular enquiries concerning the ſame of this De Vos, who appeared to me to be a man of ſound judgment.

What Melk had told me the day before, gave me an opportunity of making my enquiries with greater exactneſs. Without, however, that I named the other, De Vos told me the ſame that he had done with reſpect to *Muſcle* and *Saldanha* Bays, equally from his own experience, having been at both places ſeveral times. He added, that, in particular, at *Muſcle*-Bay, there was much excellent corn-ground, and that there were

were fields, which would admit of an hundred *muds* of ſeed-corn being ſown in one patch, without any intervention of barren or unprofitable ſoil.

He thought, likewiſe, that there was a ſafe birth for ſhips in the bay, where they might even be ſheltered from the E.S.E. wind *.

In

* This harbour, though rather open to the eaſterly winds, and not reſorted to by ſhips except in caſes of neceſſity, might, in many reſpects, prove very uſeful were it better known. SPARRMAN informs us, that there is a good ſandy bottom for anchorage, and a ſmall creek or inlet to the ſouth-weſt, with depth of water ſufficient for a ſhip, and a rill of freſh water running into it. On the north ſide of the bay, there is a flat ſhore, where boats may appproach with ſafety. In the journal of the voyage of the Dutch admiral P. VAN CAERDEN, there is an account of the firſt diſcovery of this bay; that commander returning in 1601, with two ſhips, from the Indies, caſt anchor on the 8th of July here, *to repair one of the veſſels that was very leaky, and had loſt a great part of her ſheathing*; they found no other refreſhments than water and muſcles, and hence they gave the bay the name of *Muſcle*-Bay; they left it on the 14th, after having *completed the purpoſes for which they entered it*: theſe veſſels coaſted along from this place to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and likewiſe caſt anchor in, and gave names to, *Vleeſch* or *Fleſh* Bay, and *Viſch* or *Fiſh* Bay, calling them from the nature of the ſupplies of proviſions they obtained in each. The narrow policy of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company has always been directed to prevent the true ſituation of the whole of this coaſt from becoming known.

Little,

In riding hither, I had obſerved that there was a large inlet of the ſea before the diſtrict of

Little, therefore, can with certainty be ſaid of it; but if ſecure harbours be diſcovered along it, the benefits to be derived from them would be very important. Farther to the eaſtward, is *Algoa*, or *Blettenberg's*, Bay, which, though it is only an open road, is ſpacious, and affords good anchorage for the largeſt ſhips, ſheltered from the northeaſt, weſt, and ſouth winds; there is plenty of freſh water, the bay abounds in fiſh, and the rocks are covered with excellent oyſters. The fineſt timber grows in the neighbourhood of theſe bays; and if, inſtead of having it brought by land-carriage to the *Cape*, a navigation were eſtabliſhed, the difference would be immenſe, both to the ſellers and to the buyers. Among the various ſorts of timber, either unknown, or extremely rare in Europe, the following abound here, viz. *geelhout*, or yellow wood (*ilex crocea*), which is of a yellow colour, almoſt like box, and of a cloſe texture; it is uſed for making of furniture; *buckuhout* (*olea capenſis*); *roode elſe*, or red alder (*cunonia capenſis*); the *keureboom* (*ſophora capenſis*); *zwarte yzerhout*, or black ironwood (*gardenia rothmannia*); *zwarthaſt* (*royena villoſa*); and *doornhout*, or thornwood (*mimoſa nilotica*); which are all uſed in the conſtruction of waggons and their appurtenances; *eſſenhout*, the aſh (*ekebergia capenſis*), which is hard and of a cloſe texture, and is uſed for making of tools and implements of various kinds; *olyvehout*, olive wood (*olea Europea*), which is a heavy, ſtrong wood, of a brown colour, uſed in the conſtruction of mills; *wilde catjepiering* (*gardenia thunbergia*), a ſtrong kind of wood uſed for clubs; *ſtinkhout*, or ſtinkwood, which is a beautiful brown wood, like *walnuttree-wood*; houſehold furniture of all kinds is made of it; it is ſuſceptible of the fineſt poliſh, and has the valuable property of being proof againſt the attacks of worms; it has its name from the excrementitious odour which

it

of *Hottentot Holland*, in which it appeared to me, that a ſhip might lie ſheltered from both wind and ſea, to take in the produce of the country, as well as what might be conveyed hither from the interior parts.

To aſcertain this, I particularly queſtioned De Vos, who frequently went thither to fiſh, reſpecting his opinion on the ſubject. He gave for anſwer, that with regard to the lying of a ſhip there, he conceived that there was a ſafe birth in twenty and leſs fathom water, and a good ſandy bottom, in the ſoutheaſt or good monſoon; but that the ſhore was, in moſt places, lined with a range of ſunken rocks, although not in ſo uninterrupted a chain, but that there were ſome paſſages between them, through which ſmall veſſels might reach the ſhore, to load goods. This was confirmed to me, when I returned to the *Cape*, by old Mr. Kersten, who had many years lived as reſident at *Falſe*-Bay, and had ſeen a large Engliſh ſhip anchor in ſafety at the place in queſtion.

it exhales when cut down, but which goes away as ſoon as it is dried; *camaſſiebout*, which is uſed for veneering; it is one of the fineſt and heavieſt kinds of wood; &c. Some of theſe might, perhaps, if acceſs to the immenſe foreſts which produce them were eaſy, become articles of trade, even to Europe. *T.*

Poſſibly

Possibly the difficulty of landing might not be found so great as is supposed, if proper surveys were to be made by intelligent people. It is certain, that if the conveyance of produce to the *Cape* could, in this manner, be made easy, it would afford a considerable advantage both to the Company, to the colonists of this district, and to others situated over the mountains. The disadvantages which the colonists labour under at present, will plainly appear, if we consider that, according to the universal testimony of the inhabitants of this district, the expence of the conveyance of every cartload to the *Cape*, which is at the distance of twelve Dutch miles, must be calculated at six rixdollars, so that the farmers here cannot possibly sell the cartload of ten *muds* of wheat, or of one leager of wine, for the same price, as those who have their settlements from three to five Dutch miles from the *Cape**.

If

* Every new-made cart costs one hundred and eighty rixdollars. This high rate is chiefly caused by the scarcity of wood required for the construction, which the Company formerly used to have sent from *Holland*. This, however, is

If we ſuppoſe that, of the ſix rixdollars per cartload, here ſaved, only the half be to the benefit of the Company, and the other half to that of the coloniſts, it would be ſufficient to compenſate for the little trouble which the accurate inveſtigation of this matter would occaſion.

Although *Hottentot Holland* has few cornfields, and is chiefly uſed for the cultivation of the vine, this would, nevertheleſs, make a difference of three rixdollars upon every leager of wine, for a cart can load but one leager at a time: and the lands ſituated over the hills, which almoſt all produce more corn than wine, would reap the benefit of it upon their grain.

Yet as all this, unfortunately, does not agree with the ſelf-intereſt of the Company's ſervants, I firmly believe, that theſe meaſures, calculated for the mutual advantage of the Company, and of their coloniſts,

not now practiſed, but moſt of the timber wanted is brought, with much trouble and inconvenience, over the mountains, from an extenſive foreſt, ſituated ſeveral days' journey from the *Cape*; and it may not be cut without a ſpecial permiſſion from the government.

will

will never be endeavoured to be put in execution *.

The

* Theſe cauſes, and perhaps the ſupineneſs of the direction in Holland, and their conſidering the *Cape* as a ſubordinate eſtabliſhment, have been the means, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to notice, of its being a yearly charge upon them, inſtead of yielding any revenue. In the hands of a more enterpriſing nation, it may perhaps be rendered a colony of more intrinſic and territorial value, than even its relative importance, as a place of refreſhment, and reſort, for the navigation of the Indies. Of the numerous catalogue which may be formed, of articles for trade, actually to be met with, or eaſy to be introduced into this country, none but its corn and wine have hitherto made any figure in the records of commerce. Peas, beans, and butter, indeed, are ſometimes exported to the Indies: the farmers, who have a tolerable ſhare of paſture-ground, make from 2,000 to 3,500*lb.* of butter annually, which they carry to the *Cape* in one or two journies, and diſpoſe of it to the town's people at from three to ſix ſtivers per pound, who reſell the greateſt part to the ſhips at a profit of from 20 to 100 per cent. The wool of their ſheep, though extremely coarſe, has, in one or two inſtances, been manufactured into common cloth, and might perhaps be brought into uſe for the conſumption of the country people. An inconſiderable quantity of oil is procured from the ſeals and penguins, which abound in the neighbourhood of the *Cape*, and the ſkins of the former are much uſed in the colony; but the ſpermaceti, and other whales, which are eſpecially remarkably numerous in *St. Helena* and *Saldanha* Bays, have hitherto been wholly neglected. An article, however, which has of late been exported from the *Cape*, is gum aloe; it is procured from the leaves of the *aloë perfoliata*, which is very abundant in many parts of the country: PETER DE WITT, a farmer ſtill living, was the firſt who prepared this gum here, and he,

The next day, being Sunday, the 24th of July, we left De Vos's at nine o'clock in the morning,

in consequence, obtained the exclusive privilege of delivering it to the Company, whence the quantity produced has always been small: the juice, tapped from the leaves, generally yields one-third of solid gum; it is packed in wooden boxes, containing from three to five cwt. and is sold at the *Cape* for three and four stivers per pound. The Cape aloe is more transparent, and equal, if not superior, in quality, to those sorts, sold under the denominations of aloe succotrine, and aloe hepatica. Almonds are likewise produced here, and are bought by the ships' officers to carry for sale to *Batavia*. Tobacco is sometimes cultivated by the planters for their own use, and hemp by the Hottentots, for the purpose of smoaking, instead of the former; but neither have ever been thought of as articles of trade. The wax-shrubs (*myrica quercifolia*, and *cordifolia*) afford a substance resembling bees'-wax; the berries of them, which are quite black, are covered with a greyish powder: they are gathered when ripe, in the month of March, and boiled till this white powder is melted, and floats on the surface of the water, like fat; this, when skimmed off and cooled, grows hard, and resembles grey, impure wax; it is used by the farmers for candles, which burn better than those made of tallow: Might not the use of it become more extended? From the *mimosa nilotica* gum arabic might be collected. The camphor-tree (*laurus camphora*) has been brought here from the East-Indies, and has thriven very well, yet no pains have been taken to encrease the number, or to collect any camphor. Turmeric (*curcuma longa*) might be cultivated here, for it is found in the Company's garden. The mulberry-tree (*morus nigra*) flourishes; and might not silkworms be reared here? The olive-tree (*olea Europea*) is common on the hills near the town, and in other places, growing wild; its fruit is said seldom to come

morning, and rode on to *Vergeleegen* (far-ſituated), that famous ſeat, formerly laid out, in

come to maturity: Will not cultivation and care alter this? Orchilla-weed may alſo be procured at the *Cape*, which has otherwiſe been excluſively imported from the Canaries, but it has not hitherto been ſought after, and perhaps it is very little known that it does exiſt here. *Indigoferas* of ſeveral ſorts are enumerated among its productions, by the different botaniſts who have explored this country; but the manufacture of indigo has never been attempted. We have the aſſurance of LE VAILLANT, that in the diſtrict of *Waveren*, otherwiſe called that of the *four-and-twenty-rivers*, indigo, as well as ſugar and cotton, might be cultivated with ſucceſs; in this diſtrict, beſides corn and wine, the planters have engaged in the raiſing for the Cape market, where they have no competitors, all kinds of fruit, lemons, oranges, limes, ſhaddocks, figs, pomegranates, &c. they are ſold at four, five, and ſix, rixdollars the hundred, and are eagerly purchaſed. Though this is one of the moſt fertile and pleaſant parts of the colony, it is but thinly inhabited, and contains no more than forty or fifty farms; much land in it lies waſte; the rivers which traverſe it fall into the *Berg*-river, and this into the bay of *St. Helena*, at its ſouthern part. By theſe channels, the produce of this diſtrict, together with that of the neighbouring one of *Zwartland*, might be carried to the bay, where there is good anchorage for ſhipping, and where it would be eaſy to eſtabliſh repoſitories, whence the paſſage by ſea to the *Cape* would be quick and eaſy. *Saldanha*-Bay, which is well known to be a moſt excellent and ſpacious harbour, might likewiſe ſerve for an enterport for that part of *Zwartland* which adjoins to it, and is too far from the *Berg*-river to ſend its produce that way; and this would be the more uſeful, as a permanent ſettlement there would be a great accommodation for the re-

in the beginning of this century, by Governor A. VAN DER STEL, for his own pleaſure, but at the expence of the Company, which afterwards, together with other additional circumſtances, was the cauſe of his being recalled to Europe, by his employers. The whole of this caſe may be amply ſeen in the memorial which he drew up of it, and the contra-memorial of the coloniſts, whom he had treated in a very unreaſonable and unjuſt manner, ſending ſome of them priſoners

freſhment of ſhips, that might not be able to put into *Table-Bay*. It is ſurpriſing that, notwithſtanding the many ſwarms of bees, which fly wild about the country, no hives have yet been introduced, nor any honey or wax collected; Dr. SPARRMAN ſays, that he neither ſaw nor heard of any one that kept home-bees, except a young lad, the ſon of a coloniſt, near *Conſtantia*, who uſed ſometimes to ſet out empty cheſts and boxes, in which a wild ſwarm would ſettle without fail in the ſpace of a few days; but the liquoriſh lad ſoon deſtroyed the hive, and conſumed the honey almoſt immediately. Ivory, though elephants are now very ſcarce near the *Cape*, is a commodity that may alſo be procured here. Even oſtrich feathers, which faſhion has rendered an almoſt indiſpenſable article of dreſs to our fair countrywomen, may be added to the liſt of marketable wares. In ſhort, though it is ſcarcely poſſible that all theſe ſhould ſucceed, as articles of trade, yet trials may be made, and encouragements offered; while the enumeration of them ſuffices to ſhew, of what importance this colony may be rendered by an active, enterpriſing, and liberal nation. *T.*

to

to Holland, and aiming at the oppreſſion and impoveriſhment of all.

He had called this ſeat *Vergeleegen*, becauſe it is ſituated full twelve or thirteen hours' ride from the *Cape*, nearly in the deepeſt part of the valley of *Hottentot Holland*.

The front of the houſe faced the eaſt. Before it lay a large garden, of a regular octagon form, incloſed by a wall. The walk which led up to the houſe, was bordered on each ſide by orange and lemon-trees; but the outer avenue was planted with large oak-trees; they were, however, leſs in ſize than thoſe of Europe; between theſe, ſtood almond-trees, which were then in bloſſom, and did not contribute a little to embelliſh thoſe pleaſant walks.

To the ſouth, was a ſimilar long and broad avenue, but bordered with cheſtnut-trees, the fruit of which was very good.

To the north, lay a large wood of very ancient oaks, which extended alſo to the weſt: it had been more extenſive, but the preſent owner of the eſtate, one Vlok, had had a conſiderable part cut down and cleared, in order to have a full proſpect over the flat

country into *False*-Bay, and the view was now only bounded by the high mountains of *Simon*'s-Bay and the west shore.

Along the back of the house stood a row of very high and large camphor-trees, which, with their evergreen foliage, afforded a pleasant summer prospect, even in winter. The leaf of this tree resembles, in some measure, that of the orange and bay-tree, and has the same glossy green hue; it is, however, much smaller: when taken in the mouth, or bruised between the fingers, it has a strong camphorated taste and smell. The wood of the tree is used for all kinds of cabinet-work, and, when polished, is of a light brown colour, with black veins; but it is sold at a dear rate.

The dwelling-house, not to say any thing of the other buildings, as slave-houses, ware-houses, stables, &c. is a handsome edifice, though of only one story (as, in fact, all the countryhouses here are, as well as most of the houses at *Capetown*), with a long and broad gallery, which is the sitting and eating-room of the family, and many large apartments on each side.

The garden, the buildings, and the planta-

tions,

tions, all bore very evident ſigns of the magnificence and wealth of the founder, who ſpent large ſums of money upon this ſpot; but every thing is now much decayed, as the ſucceeding proprietors did not poſſeſs the ſame means as Mr. VAN DER STEL, to keep it in proper repair.

The *Laurens*-river, the largeſt and moſt rapid which we had met with in this little excurſion, runs juſt without the woods belonging to this eſtate. We had to croſs it twice, and for want of bridges, which are a convenience unknown in this country, we forded it on horſeback, the water reaching up nearly as high as our ſaddles.

Having taken a view of every thing, as well as the ſhortneſs of time would admit, we rode away at eleven o'clock, and in half an hour we returned to the farm of DE VOS; whence, after having dined, and heartily thanked our friendly entertainer, we took our departure at half paſt one o'clock. At four, we rode paſt *Stellenboſch*, and at half paſt ſix, we came to ALBERTYN'S farm, near the *Klapmuts*, where we took up our night's lodging.

The next morning, about nine o'clock, we

we left theſe honeſt and hoſpitable people, on our return to the *Cape*, dined by the way upon bread and butter and a glaſs of wine, in the open air, not far from *Tiger*-Valley, on the banks of a little rivulet, and in the middle of a grove of low trees, and arrived at the town, at half paſt four o'clock, in the afternoon.

I was informed, upon my arrival, by Mr. HEMMY, that the muſtering of my crew, and diſpatch of my veſſel, would take place on Friday next, the 29th of July*.

On

* No more than fifteen days had thus elapſed, from the time of my arrival in *Simon*'s-Bay, to that of my diſpatch, in which the crew had to refreſh themſelves, and recover from the fatigues of a long and boiſterous paſſage. It may eaſily be conceived, that their bodies could not, in ſo ſhort a time, be fully diveſted of the bad humours, and ſcorbutic matter, which had been accumulated in them, in the conſiderable ſpace of time they had been on board, namely, from the 6th of January, the day I received them at *Rammekens*, till the 13th of July; and this was very apparent afterwards, when I was at ſea; for in a few days, the uſual ſhips' diſeaſes manifeſted themſelves on board; as likewiſe continued fevers, which were immediately followed by a total proſtration, ariſing from the impure ſtate of the whole frame, and the corruption of the fluids; theſe fevers were alſo accompanied by the ſcurvy, which ſoon likewiſe made its appearance. It is true, that the moſt and worſt ſickneſs occurred among thoſe of my crew, who had been ſent, for a few days, as a help, on board

On Wedneſday, the 27th, I rode in the forenoon to the Company's garden called

board of the ſhip *P*——; this veſſel had arrived at the *Cape*, with eighty ſick; cleanlineſs ſeemed to have been very little attended to on board of her, for ſhe was between the decks ſo choaked with filth, that ſome of my officers aſſured me, they had never ſeen ſo much dirt, not even on board of any French ſhip. Though it is probable, that my men were infected by the ſick of this veſſel, it is, however, reaſonable to conclude, that their bodies were not in a perfect ſtate of health, nor their fluids wholly purified, or this contagion could never have ſpread ſo rapidly among them.

I ſhould, therefore, be of opinion, that the outwardbound ſhips ſhould ſtop longer at the *Cape*, and ſtay there four weeks, inſtead of a fortnight, in order that by a proper length of time to refreſh, the bodies of the ſailors might be cleanſed of their accumulated peccant matter. Returning thus on board in good health, and with renewed ſtrength, they would not only be able to cope with the fatigues of the remainder of the voyage, but arriving in the Indies, with a hale and healthy frame of body, they would, in ſome meaſure, be able to withſtand the firſt attacks of the unwholeſome climate.

It may, perhaps, be objected to this, that the additional charges to be incurred by a longer ſtay, would conſiderably encreaſe the ſhip's expences. But this is of little importance, for the articles of refreſhment procured at the *Cape*, do not coſt much; my ſhip, the *Ouwerkerk*, conſumed during her ſtay:

4,708 pounds of freſh meat, amounting, at $5\frac{1}{2}$ pennings ($\frac{1}{16}$ of a ſtiver, or penny) per pound, to	*f.*	80	18 8
40 *muds* of wheat, for baking, at *f.*5 $17\frac{1}{2}$ per *mud*		234	13 8
	f.	315	12 0

Thus a ſhip ſtaying half a month longer, would only expend twice that ſum.

Newland,

Newland, which is about one Dutch mile and a half from the *Cape*, where the governor, Mr. VAN PLETTENBERG, then was, in order to take leave of his excellency.

On the following Saturday, the Company's hoy, the *Neptune*, commanded by Captain DE HAAS, came to an anchor in *Table*-Bay. This veſſel had left the harbour on the 20th of May, with goods for *Falſe*-Bay; when at ſea, ſhe had been overtaken by a violent ſtorm, and driven upon the reef of *Anguillas*, where ſhe continued to ſwerve about till the 22d of June; on the evening of that day, the ſame on which we had been haraſſed by the dreadful hurricane before deſcribed, ſhe rolled away all her three maſts. She was then driven to the ſouthward, as far as 41°, and got ſight of the iſlands *Dina* and *Marſeveen*. They had, for a great part of the time, been in want of water; but they fortunately had plenty of wine on board, ſo that they kept themſelves alive with bread and wine.

The next morning, being Sunday, the 31ſt of July, I ſet off, at eight o'clock, in company with Mr. ERNST, for *Falſe*-Bay, where we arrived at one. We found my

ſhip

ſhip in good condition, and ready for ſea; but the wind blowing from the S.E. for this, and the two following days, we were prevented from ſailing.

This morning, came to an anchor here, the Company's ſhip *P*——, Captain *S*——, who had ſailed from *Goerée*, on the 12th of May, for the chamber of *Delft*, with two hundred and nine men, of whom twenty-eight had died on the paſſage, eighty were now confined by ſickneſs, and the remainder were moſtly unfit for the ſhip's duty: and as, for want of hands, they were incapable of mooring the ſhip, or taking in their ſails, I directly ſent them ſixty men, to aſſiſt them in doing this, who I let remain on board her till Tueſday evening.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from FALSE-*Bay.*—*Violent Thunder-ſtorm.*—*Meteors called Caſtor and Pollux.*—*Dreadful epidemical Diſorder which raged on Board.*—*The Surgeon's Report concerning it.*—*Treatment of the Sick, &c.*—*Paſs the Iſlands* AMSTERDAM *and* ST. PAUL.—*Bear away for* NEW HOLLAND.—*Diſappointed in falling in with it.*—*Paſs the Latitude of the Trial's Rocks.*—*View of the South Coaſt of* JAVA.—*Range along it.*—*Great Inaccuracy of the Company's Charts.*—*Paſſage of the Straits of* SUNDA.—*Anchorage at* BATAVIA.

ON Wedneſday morning, the 3d of Auguſt, the wind being northweſt, we weighed anchor, with a ſtiff gale, accompanied by hail and rain, and got under ſail at eleven o'clock, A.M. ſaluting the road with ſeven guns, which was returned us by the ſhip *P*——, with five. At two o'clock, P.M. we were out of the bay, and ſteered our courſe firſt in a ſoutherly direction, for fear the wind ſhould come round to that quarter. At this time my crew conſiſted of three hundred

dred and twenty-three men, all ſeemingly in good health.

The next morning, the wind ſtill blew hard from the N.W. and we ſaw a ſail lying by to the S.W. with a Prince of Orange's flag * flying from her mizen-topmaſthead. We paſſed her at the diſtance of a quarter of a league, and ſhould have hailed her, but the high wind made us think it not ſafe to approach near enough to underſtand each other.

On the 9th and 10th of Auguſt, we had violent thunderſtorms in the evening; the claps of thunder were ſo loud and inceſſant, that the ſhip ſhook by their exploſion; and the flaſhes of lightning ſhot between the maſts, and ſo cloſe along the hull of the ſhip, that we were apprehenſive of the loſs of the former, and of fire in the latter. Large hailſtones fell at the ſame time, accompanied by rain, and a high wind; yet we ſuffered no great damage from this concuſſion of the elements.

I am of opinion, that the iron ſpindles for the vanes, which are generally uſed at the

* See the note to page 141, of the firſt volume. *T.*

topmaſt-

topmaſtheads, are very bad in thunder-ſtorms, as they cannot but attract the electric matter; the topmaſts of my ſhip had not ſuch ſpindles, but knobs.

On the 10th, at ſix o'clock in the evening, when the thunderſtorm was at the higheſt, we ſaw the meteors called Caſtor and Pollux, upon the topſailyardarms, which gave a clear light, and appeared like ſmall lambent flames; ſhortly after which the ſtorm abated.

We likewiſe ſaw them, on the mizen and maintopſail-yards, on the 5th of September, at eleven o'clock at night, when we had a lowering ſky, with thunder and lightning, but not ſo violent as at former times.

Towards the end of the month of Auguſt, the ſcurvy began to appear, more and more, among the people; and on the 1ſt of September, we loſt two men by it, who had only begun to complain the day before, and who died, as it were, in the midſt of their uſual occupations. This ſoon convinced me, that my fears, reſpecting the ill conſequences of the too ſhort ſtay of my men at the *Cape*, were not imaginary. Since my departure from that place, I had, however,

given

given the whole of the ſhip's crew ſoup, made of freſh mutton, twice a week, and had made the ſoldiers exerciſe, when it was good weather, every day, to keep them in motion.

But this was only a commencement of our ſufferings. It was not alone the ſcurvy which manifeſted itſelf on board, but likewiſe a moſt malignant putrid fever, which attacked a great number, ſo that, on the 10th of September, we had one hundred on the ſickliſt. The ſoldiers, and ſuch ſailors who had not before been at ſea, were chiefly the victims of this diſorder; but it attacked, in particular, thoſe who had been on board of the ſhip *P*——.

The firſt ſymptoms of the fever, and which occurred ſome days before it actually came on, were a violent headache and pains in the ſtomach, debility, and loſs of appetite. Some died during the firſt fit of the fever; others two or three days afterwards. A ſtrong putrid ſmell was perceived even before they died, and many of the bodies emitted ſo dreadful a ſtench, in half an hour after the breath had left them, that they were forced to be inſtantaneouſly com-

mitted to the deep. Immediately after their death, and, in ſome caſes, even before it, the bodies were blotched with black and blueiſh ſpots, eſpecially upon the neck and breaſt, which indicated an entire corruption of the whole ſyſtem.

The following is a relation of the commencement, progreſs, and termination, of this ſickneſs, as touched in the report concerning it made to me by my ſurgeon, Mr. L. Vinke.

"This epidemic began in the latter part "of the month of Auguſt, and did not end "till the beginning of October. The ſuf- "ferers firſt felt a chilly ſhivering; then "a liſtleſſneſs and pain in the joints; this "was followed by a flufhing heat exter- "nally, but internally they always com- "plained of cold. Some had a violent "fever, with a throbbing pulſation; others "no fever at all, with a low and weak "pulſe. In general, they were overcome "by a ſudden debility, in ſo far, that ſome "who endeavoured to keep up, fell down "from weakneſs. Some had their uſual "and natural evacuations, others none at all. "Their urine was ſomewhat turbid, yel-

"lowiſh,

" lowiſh, and very ſharp. In the beginning,
" the tongue was whitiſh, but afterwards
" covered with a brown coat, and with a
" black ſlime over the teeth. In the night,
" they were very reſtleſs, and generally de-
" lirious. Some had violent retchings on the
" ſecond day, and brought up a blackiſh
" matter; yet the patients felt no eaſe from
" it, but experienced a great degree of
" anxiety, accompanied by profuſe perſpira-
" tion. On the third day they got a hic-
" cough, with a coldneſs of the extremities;
" ſome bled, at the ſame time, copiouſly
" from the noſe; and, at laſt, they loſt the
" power of retention of their urine and ex-
" crements, which they voided involunta-
" rily; their evacuations were of a dark
" brown colour, and intolerably fetid; at
" laſt, a profuſe cold and clammy ſweat
" came upon them, at which time they died.
" I examined ſome of them, after they were
" dead, who were full of purple blotches,
" on the breaſt and face; I ſaw two, who
" had a blackiſh ſpot, of the ſize of two
" handbreadths, along and under the ſhort
" ribs, at the place where the liver lies,
" which is a certain ſign of the entire mor-

" tification of that part; and theſe bodies
" were ſo putrid, that they could not be
" kept on board half an hour after the de-
" ceaſe. Some of the patients, who had
" immediately complained, or given them-
" ſelves in as ſick, got, on the fifth, or
" ſeventh, day of their illneſs, a *diarrhœa*;
" which in ſome was critical, or favourable,
" and in others ſymptomatic, or incidental:
" the *diarrhœa critica* ſeldom laſted longer
" than three or four days; they voided a
" quantity of dark brown and blackiſh mat-
" ter, and the fever then left them entirely;
" theſe patients were far gone in a decay of
" ſtrength, and the worſt was, that they
" continually relapſed, even four or five
" times: three times were the uſual run:
" and by theſe continual relapſes, many
" were alſo attacked by the ſcurvy, by
" which ſeveral of them died. Thoſe who
" got a *diarrhœa ſymptomatica*, had a violent
" colic, together with very fetid and looſe
" ſtools, ſometimes accompanied by the eva-
" cuation of a ſlimy matter, with ſtreaks of
" blood running through it. Some of theſe
" patients were attacked by a violent vomit-
" ing, hiccough, and convulſions, and, laſtly,

" they

" they fell into a profuſe cold and clammy
" ſweat, in which they died. Few of thoſe
" who had the *diarrhæa ſymptomatica* re-
" covered, except when the ſymptoms were
" not very violent. Some had their criſis,
" or rather metaſtaſis, with a ſwelling
" behind the ears, upon the breaſt, or
" ſhoulders, which changed to a ſuppuration,
" whereby they were cured. Others again
" felt violent pains in the ſhoulders, knees,
" or feet, which, after having laſted two
" days, left them, and they recovered.
" Thoſe who tried to keep up, and waited
" two or three days before they gave them-
" ſelves in as patients, almoſt all died within
" the fourth day after they came under my
" care. Theſe were, in general, full of
" puſtulous ſpots, and half an hour after their
" deceaſe, the abdomen turned quite black,
" which is a certain ſign of an entire morti-
" fication of all the viſcera of the belly.
" From the time of its commencement, till
" the 2d of October, when it ceaſed, twenty-
" nine men died of this diſeaſe, beſide thoſe
" who were carried off by the ſcurvy, and
" other diſorders."

I attribute this dreadful epidemic to no

other cauſe, than that my healthy men, whom I ſent, as abovementioned, as a help, on board of the ſhip *P*——, caught the infection there; eſpecially ſince the individuals who had been on board of her, were the firſt who were attacked by it.

The prevalence of this ſickneſs occaſioned ſo much diſmay among thoſe who remained in health, that they imagined that the ſhip was infected with the plague, and I had the greateſt difficulty to convince them, and eſpecially my officers, of the contrary, by daily going myſelf to viſit the ſick, to ſee that they were properly treated, and to encourage and conſole the poor ſufferers, as much as lay in my power.

The ſailors who had been much at ſea, were the laſt who were attacked by this diſorder, and they, for the moſt part, recovered.

By this dreadful and malignant diſeaſe, as well as by the ſcurvy, I loſt forty-two men of my crew in September, and at the cloſe of that month, I had ſtill one hundred and eight confined by ſickneſs.

In this ſituation, ſo diſtreſsful to me, we ſcarcely knew how to proceed. The

ſurgeon

ſurgeon and his mates did all in their power, and whatever art could deviſe, according to their beſt abilities, to ſtop the progreſs of the diſeaſe; but it may eaſily be conceived, that, where the number was ſo great, they could not attend to every individual, with that entire ſolicitude, which the nature of the diſtemper ſeemed particularly to require.

Beſides this, thoſe medicines which were the moſt neceſſary, were ſoon conſumed; and what is a moſt ſhameful neglect in the equipment of the Company's ſhips, at leaſt at the chamber of *Zealand*, as I experienced it myſelf in both my voyages, there was not a ſingle drop of white wine-vinegar to be found on board, which, in theſe caſes, is an article of the utmoſt neceſſity, and yet, perhaps, it is charged in account to the Company. However it be, this is certain, that the want of it was the occaſion that many of our ſick died.

Notwithſtanding all this, we yet thought ourſelves fortunate, that we met with fine weather, in running down through the ſouthern latitudes, ſo that the gratings and airholes could always remain open, by which the contamination of the air was greatly mode-

rated; while, on my part, I took eſpecial care that the ſick-ward, which was, as uſual, between the firſt and ſecond decks, was kept clean and neat.

The air in it was continually refreſhed and renewed, by the opening of the port-holes, and by a coolſail, made like a funnel, in the manner of M. DU HAMEL; and at night, when this could not be done, for fear of accidents, the ventilators were kept conſtantly at work.

I allowed no water to be made uſe of in cleaning it out, that the moiſture might not contribute to encreaſe the contagion; and on the other hand, daily fumigations were made with juniper-berries and frankincenſe, likewiſe by burning of gunpowder, and pouring of vinegar on red-hot bullets.

The cribs of the ſick were ſprinkled with vinegar, and the patients were directed to waſh their hands and faces, and rinſe their mouths with it, every morning.

Their victuals conſiſted, one day, in mutton-broth, with lemonjuice; the next, in rice-porridge; and the third, in bread and beer, with wine; and in the morning they had grouts, with Spaniſh wine.

Thoſe

Thoſe who recovered were put to a ſepa, rate meſs, and theſe were allowed, for the firſt ten days, nothing but ſpoonmeat, peeled barley, and peas, without their ration of pork or beef, becauſe their ſtomachs were much too weak to digeſt theſe laſt. It alſo appeared, that thoſe who had eat a little pork or beef in ſecret, fell immediately ill again.

To ſuch as remained in health, I gave every day a quartern of wine (which they did not receive elſe but three times a week), and I cauſed bitters to be put into their uſual morning and evening drams, in order to oppoſe, as much poſſible, the commencement of corruption.

Our ſouthern navigation was very good; we met with no bad weather of any conſequence, but the winds were almoſt always too ſlack, to admit of a quick paſſage, although it was in the winter-ſeaſon, in theſe latitudes.

When, on my former voyage, I paſſed this way, in the month of January, which is here the middle of ſumm r, we met with much harder winds, and often with violent ſtorms, during which we were frequently

obliged

obliged to lie by, which did not once happen this time.

On the 2d of September, in the afternoon, we thought that we ſaw the iſland *Amſterdam*; but could not, on account of the hazineſs of the weather, be certain of it.

On the 5th, we ſaw a good deal of ſea-weed, which made us conclude that we had paſſed the iſlands of *Amſterdam* and *St. Paul*, or were to the eaſtward of them: the more ſo, as the variations of the compaſs, and two lunar obſervations, which I had made, according to the manner of M. DE LA CAILLE, corroborated the conjecture.

Upon conſidering theſe circumſtances, we determined to bear away for the *Land of the Eendragt*, in *New Holland*, in order to correct our reckoning, and to ſteer for the iſland of *Java*, ſo as to fall in with it, to the eaſtward of the Straits of *Sunda*. But we were fruſtrated in our hopes of ſeeing this land, by the ſoutheaſt tradewind, which we now met with, and which carried us too far to leeward; wherefore, on the 25th of September, we changed our courſe to N.E. and bore away afterwards in a northerly track, availing likewiſe of the

variation

variation of the compaſs, in order to get to the eaſtward of the Straits of *Sunda*; for I found, by ſeveral journals, that there was a variation of 2½° north, at the eaſt end of *Java*, and by my own experience I knew that there was no variation at all at the Straits of *Sunda*.

On the 26th of that month, we paſſed the latitude in which the *Trial's Rocks* are laid down.

On the 4th of October, a large bunch of green weed floated by the ſhip, and the next day, half an hour before ſunriſe, we diſcovered the ſouth coaſt of *Java*.

The part which we ſaw ſhewed like a very long iſland, ſeemingly about eight or nine leagues in length, and appearing to ſtretch out to the northeaſtward, moſtly in an equal direction, and of a moderate height. The weſt point appeared craggy and broken, and the eaſt point run gradually round in a circular ſhape: this was the iſland called *Nouſſa Baron*.

Juſt after eight o'clock in the morning, we ſaw, a little to the weſtward of this land, the ſpiry ſummit of a mountain, which appeared above the clouds, and look-

ed

ed of a blue colour, but underneath, we could not ſee any land: this mountain was higher than any one I had ever ſeen.

The land which appeared afterwards, during this day, was high, bare, and ſtony, with a rocky ſhore; and in ſome places ſhoals and rocks, which ſeemed to extend about a league from the land.

The next day, at eight o'clock, A.M. we thought we ſaw the *Hoornſhoofd*, or the *Horn*, being a high mountain, ſo called, N.E. by N. from us. The coaſt was ſtill higher, and equally bare; but, a little before noon, we perceived ſome trees upon the tops of the hills. At half paſt two o'clock, P.M. we were abreaſt of a large opening, which ſeemed to run far inland, and appeared to us to be the mouth of a river. The land ſhewed here in four ridges, lying behind each other, riſing gradually higher, in proportion as they were more inland, and all of them being wholly covered with thick woods. At four o'clock we ſaw a building cloſe to the ſhore, which looked like a fort; this edifice, together with ſome habitations which we ſaw adjacent to it, I then thought conſtituted the old city of *Mataram*, at leaſt

the

the obſervation of the *Hoornſhoofd*, and the diſtance we had ſince ſailed along the coaſt, indicated as much; but his excellency, Governor VAN DER PARRA, told me afterwards that that city lay farther inland. At eight o'clock we had ſoundings in one hundred and twenty-five fathoms, blueiſh clay. At night, having little or no wind, we made no progreſs, but floated about without any determinate direction.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 7th of October, we could but juſt ſee the land, and I according ſteered again directly for it. At eight o'clock, we diſcovered a very low coaſt, which began at a middling elevated point, where the high land terminated.

This low land was entirely covered with trees, among which we perceived ſeveral groves of cocoa-nut, and areca trees, the ſhore was bordered by a white beach, againſt which the ſea rolled without interruption.

At ten o'clock, we ſaw, among the woods, a very high tree, which ſpread out its branches very far, and appeared, at a diſtance, like a beacon;

beacon; and from the maſthead we diſcerned ſeveral negroes, or villages.

We here ſaw high land again, though the low land continued all along before it, till three o'clock, P.M. when we again ſaw nothing but low land with trees.

We ſailed along the ſhore, from eight o'clock, A.M. till ſunſet, at the diſtance of a league, over the depth of thirty or forty fathoms, black ſandy ground, like fine gunpowder.

The land which we beheld in the morning of the eighth of October, ſhewed like a double range of broken hills, of a middling height. Shortly afterwards we ſaw the appearance of an iſland, in the N.N.W. on each ſide of which there was a deep inlet, with high mountains inland; we conceived that theſe were *Maurice* and *Dirk de Vries* Bays. We likewiſe ſaw a high cape, and land N.W. by N. which, at three o'clock, P.M. bore due north from us. Juſt beyond, and eaſt of this cape, lay a rock above water, upon which the ſea broke.

Hence the coaſt ſtretched, as far as we could ſee, W. by N. and W.N.W. being tolerably

tolerably high land, covered with trees. We ſailed along it, two and a half leagues from the ſhore, and ſaw a heavy ſurf breaking upon it. Our depth of water was forty and forty-five fathoms.

At ſunſet we ſteered weſt, but finding the depth decreaſing, we edged gradually away to the ſouth, as far as s.s.w.

At daybreak, the following morning, being the 9th of October, we found ourſelves cloſe under a woody iſland. We here perceived that the ſouth coaſt of *Java*, inſtead of being laid down, in the Company's charts, with requiſite accuracy, is, on the contrary, placed very erroneouſly; for, with the courſe which we had ſteered at night, we ought, according to the charts, not only not to have approached the land, but to have bore away from it more and more. I am not the only one, who has been deceived in this reſpect, for having accidentally on board a journal of the Company's ſhip *Zuidbeveland*, commanded by Captain HALFMAN, I found the ſame occurrence noted down in it, at the ſame place.

It is really to be lamented, that ſo powerful a body as the Eaſt-India Company, and whoſe

whoſe proſperity ſo much depends upon the ſafe and proſperous voyages of their ſhips, ſhould trouble themſelves ſo little with the improvement of navigation in general, and the correction of their charts in particular. I could adduce many inſtances of their faultineſs, both with reſpect to the Indies, and to the coaſt of Africa. Other nations purſue this object with indefatigable aſſiduity, eſpecially the Engliſh, whoſe maps are, in general, infinitely preferable to our's.

On the 9th and 10th of October, we had very little proſpect of the land, by reaſon of the continual rain, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, which we experienced thoſe days; except that we ſaw, at intervals, the blue ſummits of the mountains breaking through the clouds. Here we caught a dorado, which afforded us an agreeable refreſhment.

On the following days, and till the 14th of the month, we had continual rains, moſtly with dead calms; or elſe the little breezes which we had, were in general weſterly.

But on the 15th, the wind blew ſo hard from the weſt, that we could not even carry

carry a topſail, with two reeves; this was accompanied by a ſtrong current, ſetting to the eaſt, ſo that we continually loſt ground. We therefore determined to bear away to the ſouth, in order to get into the eaſterly tradewind again, and to run down ſo far to the weſtward with it, that we could make the Straits of *Sunda*.

On the 20th, finding that we had advanced far enough for this purpoſe, we again ſteered north; on the 22d, in the morning, we got ſight of the weſt point of *Java*; at nine o'clock, P.M. we ſucceeded in gaining the paſſage between *Java* and *Prince*'s Iſland, and at ten we anchored cloſe to *New* Iſland.

On the evening of the enſuing day, we reached the ſecond, and, on the day after, the third point of *Java*. On the 25th we dropped anchor, at night, cloſe to the point of *Bantam*, whence we ſet ſail the next day at noon; and on the 28th of October, we anchored, at four o'clock, P.M. in the road of *Batavia*, whence ſeven ſhips had ſailed the ſame morning for *Holland*, being the firſt diviſion of the return-fleet.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from BATAVIA *for* SAMARANG.—*Paſs the Reef of* SEDARY.—*Of* CHERIBON.—*Mount* TAGAL.—*The Two Brothers.*—*Anchorage in the Road of* SAMARANG.—*Directions for ſailing along the Coaſt.*—*Account of the Government at* SAMARANG.—*Diſſention between the* SOESOEHOENAM *and* MANKO BOENI.—*The latter ſupported by the Company.*—*The Empire of* JAVA *parcelled out.*—*The Seacoaſt ceded to the Company.*—*They make themſelves Maſters of* BALAMBOUANG.—SOERA CARTA, *the Capital of the* SOESOEHOENAM.—D'JOKJE CARTA, *that of the Sultan.*—*Short Account of the Reſidencies of* OELOPAMPANG.—SOURABAYA.—GRISSE.—SAMANAP.—REMBANG.—JOANA.—JAPARA.—SAMARANG.—PACALONGA.—TAGAL.—*Reſidents at the Courts of the two Javaneſe Emperors.*—*Eſtabliſhment, Revenues, &c. of this Government.*

ON the evening of the 28th of October I informed the governor general, VAN DER PARRA, of my arrival, and learnt that my ſhip was appointed to ſail to *Amboyna*.

A few

CHART of the PASSAGE from BATAVIA to AMBOYNA.

JAVA

MADURA

BORNEO

CELEBES

BANCA

BILLETON

Batavia

Cheribon

Fagal

Sumarang

Bali

Lombock

Sumbawa

Rotterdam or Macasser

Bay of Tolo
Full of Shoals and Rocks

Bay of Boni

Long Bay

Kingelan

Succadana

Sourouton

Beauzeom

Tanjong Vombawa

the high Land of Condawang

Little Enkhuizer Sand

Schaarnegels or Outwater I.

Mandowa

the Golden Lion

Deutcoms Point

Pemarowhan

Sampit

Laut I.

Little P.o Laut

Maria Sinds

Eden

Middelburg

the Thames

Amsterdam

Rotterdam

Arends or Eagle I.

Foul Solombo

Fair Solombo

Noussa Iinas

the Hen & Chickens

Salomon

Oalkrong

Sandraboni

Torsine I.

the Leary or Boot

the Bril or Spectacle

the Portallion

the Fleuvendam Wrecked

Islands

Paternoster Islands

Kalkoens or Turkey Islands

Canggian I.

Canggian I.

Boangies or Tree I.

Orimon jara

Inibok I. or the Baboon

P.o Mandelique

Pandang

Oelo pampang

Cape Sandage

Strait of Bali

Strait of Lombock

Strait of Allas

Balakki

Tanete

Marou

Tello

Samalala

Klandi

Kawaroe

Bonarutte

the Sloop Dolf wrecked

Hamelcorn or Lizard I.

the Maurseram wrecked

the Lark wrecked

the 3 Hills

Pompanoe

Verwen or Hey I.

Bradawang I.

Timbolang I.

Manalidje

Loutlands Rocks

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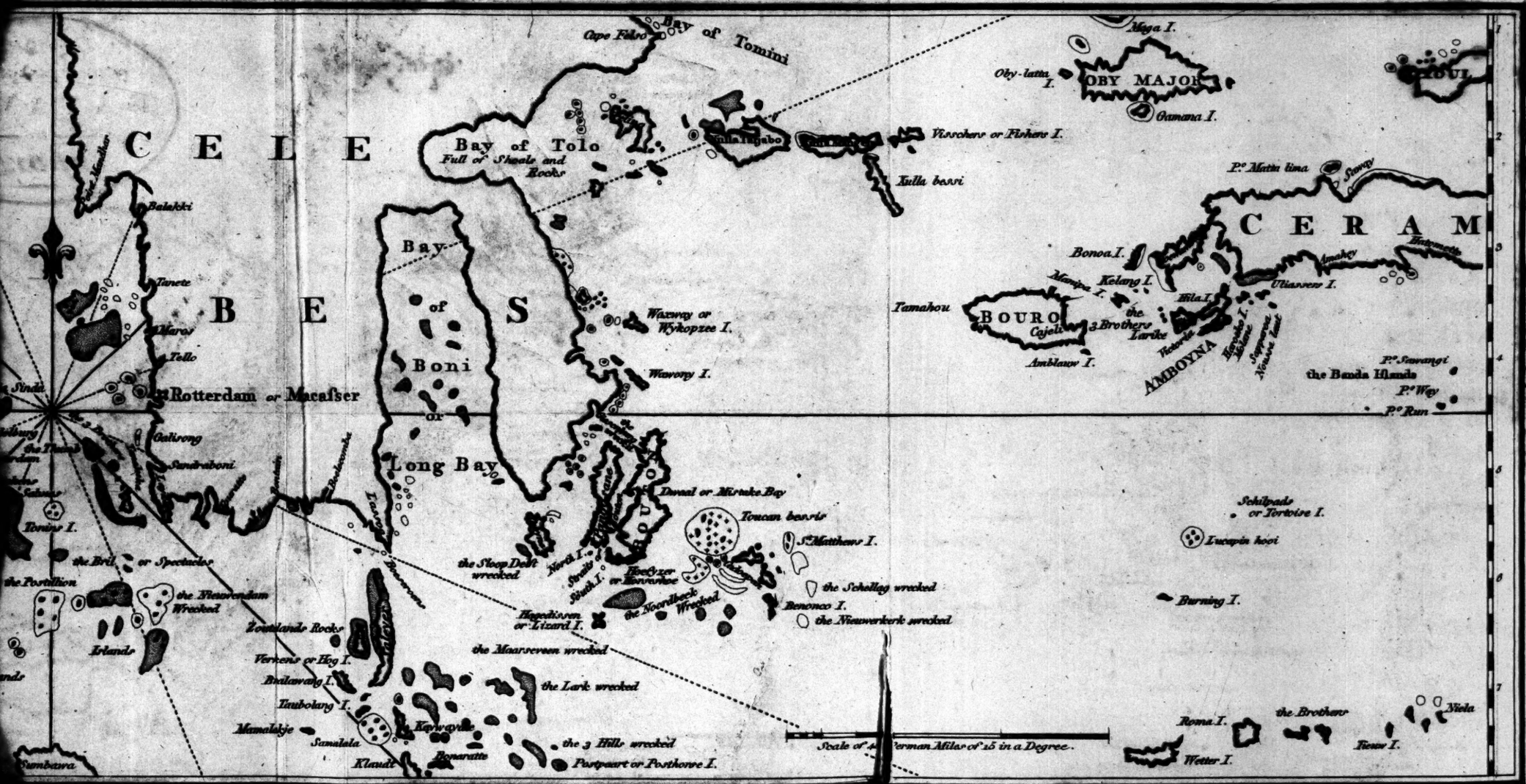

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A few days afterwards, it was determined that the voyage thither ſhould be made by way of *Macaſſer*, in order to fetch Mr. BERNARD VAN PLEUREN, the ſecond of that ſettlement, who was elected governor of *Amboyna*, and to carry him to his new appointment.

The ſhip being made ready for this voyage, I received my diſpatches, on the 2d of December, from the governor general, with orders, to ſet ſail the next day for *Samarang*, where I was to receive directions at what factories in *Java* I was to touch, in order to take in my cargo.

We had on board, ſixty-five European ſailors, twenty-five laſcars, fifty-one ſoldiers for the ſettlement at *Macaſſer*, and nine paſſengers; namely, the bookkeeper, WARNER, his wife and two children, for *Samarang*; Enſign BOUDON, his wife and ſon, for *Macaſſer*; and Enſign FETTER, with KRAMER, a matroſs, for *Amboyna*.

We ſailed on the 3d of December, at nine o'clock, A.M. from the road of *Batavia*, ſteering firſt for the iſland *Edam*, afterwards for the point of *Carawang*, and thence, in eighteen and twenty fathoms

water, in order to paſs the reef of *Sedary*, at a tolerable diſtance.

Having weathered the reef about five o'clock, we ſteered towards the ſhore, in order to get into more ſhoaly water; and at ten, P.M. we came to an anchor, in ten fathoms, as I did not judge it prudent to attempt paſſing, during the night, the rock which lies three, or three and a half, leagues from the point of *Pamanoekan*, and on which the *Caſtle of Woerden* was wrecked.

In the night, and on the following day, it blew hard from W.N.W. with a high ſea, by which the ſhip ſtrained very much, as ſhe rode at anchor, ſo that we ſaw no chance of weighing our anchor; while, in the mean time, it was dangerous to lie here, if the wind veered to the northward, which would alſo have much delayed the proſecution of our voyage. We accordingly determined upon cutting the cable, which we did, and ſet ſail, ſteering, about ten o'clock, A.M. for the point of *Indramaye*, and afterwards along the reef of *Cheriban*, till having paſſed it, we ſteered eaſt, during the night.

On the following day we diſcerned little of the land, on account of the hazy weather,

except

except Mount *Tagal*, which is a volcano, but of which we ſaw nothing, as it was covered with thick clouds, from its ſummit, halfway down.

The next day, the 6th of December, at daybreak, we got ſight of two hills, cloſely reſembling each other, and called the *Two Brothers*; and a little more to the eaſtward the hill of *Samarang*, which is ſomewhat larger and higher; which are the landmarks, by which the chief ſettlement of this government is diſtinguiſhed. We anchored in the road of *Samarang*, at eight o'clock in the evening, and I went on ſhore the next day, to deliver the Company's papers to Mr. ROBERT VAN DER BURG, the governor, and to receive further orders.

Reſpecting the navigation from *Batavia* to *Samarang*, the following directions may be of ſervice.

On leaving the road of *Batavia*, ſteer for the iſland of *Edam*; then between that and the iſland *Leyden*, or elſe between *Leyden* and *Enkhuizen*; and afterwards round Point *Carawang*, and ſo far from the ſhore, to have offing enough to paſs the reef which runs out from *Sedary*; the lead is in this

reſpect the beſt guide, ſince you muſt not ſuffer it to ſhoal more than ten fathoms, till this reef be paſſed, of which you may be certain, in the daytime, when the high trees of *Sedary*, which are a few ſingle trees, eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed on account of their height, bear s.s.w. and in the night, ſteering to the eaſt, in twelve fathoms water, it deepens when you are paſt the reef; upon which ſteer more ſoutherly, keeping however your depth, into the bight of *Pamanoekan*, till the water ſhoals to ten and nine fathoms, when you muſt ſteer again more eaſt, in order not to approach too near the ſhore of *Java*; you may be ſure you will then run clear of the rock, upon which the *Caſtle of Woerden* was loſt, although there is ſixteen fathoms water cloſe to it: but the ſafeſt is to anchor here, during the night. Having doubled the point of *Pamanoekan*, ſteer for that of *Indraymaye*, in ten, eleven, twelve, and thirteen, fathoms water; upon approaching the laſt, be ſure to keep in thoſe depths, to avoid falling upon the reef of *Cheribon*, which having paſſed, ſteer as much to the ſouthward of eaſt, as to retain nineteen or twenty fathoms depth; or in

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the daytime, keeping within ſight of the ſhore, till you begin to near *Pamalang*, when you muſt ſteer ſo far off ſhore as to double the rock which lies N.E. by N. from that place: you will then come in ſight of the hills of *Tagal*, *Samarang*, and the *Two Brothers*; when the laſt bear due ſouth, ſteer for the ſhore, and afterwards along it, till the enſign's ſtaff of *Samarang* bears S.S.E. and let drop your anchor, in five, or four and a half, fathoms. All along the north coaſt of *Java*, the bottom is a ſoft clay.

This government, which is one of the moſt lucrative for the Company's ſervants which they have, was twenty years ago only a commandery; but it was changed into a government, upon the conſiderable acquiſition of territory made by the Company, along the ſeacoaſt, by ceſſion to them by the SOESOEHOENAM, at the concluſion of peace, during the government of Mr. HARTING, who terminated the war of *Java*, in which the empire was ſplit into two parts, one remaining under the SOESOEHOENAM, and the other becoming ſubject to the preſent reigning ſultan, MANKO BOENI.

It is of the utmoſt importance to the Company that this eſtabliſhment be well governed, on account of the immediate relation which it has to the two abovementioned Javaneſe princes, who nouriſh the moſt implacable enmity towards each other. The Company would not wiſh to ſee a termination of their mutual hatred, for as long as it remains in force, they retain the ſecure poſſeſſion of their acquiſitions along the ſeacoaſt; and though not nominally, they are always, in reality, likewiſe maſters of the inner parts; for, upon uniting with either of theſe two princes, they can make the balance lean ſo much againſt the other, that they are both conſtrained to remain quiet.

This was, in fact, their object, in fomenting the diſſention which aroſe between the SOESOEHOENAM and MANKO BOENI, and whence the war of *Java* had its origin.

The laſt-named, a prince of the imperial family, and a deſcendant of the former SOESOEHOENAM, wanted to have, as an appanage, a certain territory, the province *Mataram*, which had already been allotted

to

to the hereditary prince MASSEYD, ſon of the SOESOEHOENAM.

This MASSEYD was of a ſhort ſtature, and an excellent diſpoſition; he gloried in the circumſtance that he had never killed an European, except in battle. MANKO BOENI, on the contrary, and his ſon and heir apparent, more than once, cauſed the captive Europeans to be pounded in their rice-blocks; or he cut off their genitals, and forced them into their mouths. The laſt-mentioned, in particular, ſhewed himſelf an implacable enemy of all Europeans; and being of a moſt cruel and bloodthirſty temper, the Company will probably not remain long unmoleſted, if he ever come into power, provided the fear of the SOESOEHOENAM do not prevent him from attacking them.

As *Mataram* was an extenſive and wealthy diſtrict, which the Company did not wiſh to ſee remain under the power of the SOESOEHOENAM, they clandeſtinely encouraged MANKO BOENI to require it at the hands of the SOESOEHOENAM. The Company did this, agreeably to their adopted ſyſtem, of weakening the empire as much as poſſible, in order

order to preſerve their poſſeſſions in *Java* with greater eaſe; and they ſecretly promiſed MANKO BOENI to maintain him in his pretenſions.

Immediately hereupon he left the court, and retired to his domains, where he directly roſe in arms againſt the emperor, and began a civil war.

The Company, in order to ſave appearances, and to render their conduct more defenſible, than if they had openly eſpouſed the part of MANKO BOENI, offered themſelves as mediators between theſe two princes, foreſeeing that the SOESOEHOENAM, who relied upon the ſuperiority of his power, far from being conceding, or placable, would reject all overtures of peace, and proſecuting the war with vigour, would endeavour entirely to ſubdue his opponent.

Exactly as they foreſaw, the emperor rejected all offers of conciliation, and entered eagerly into a war which was to end in his diſcomfiture and diſgrace.

There was now the moſt urgent neceſſity for the Company to eſpouſe, in earneſt, the quarrel of MANKO BOENI, partly in order to perſevere in their propoſed ſyſtem, and partly

partly to ſecure themſelves from the ill will which would infallibly, and not unreaſonably, be entertained againſt them by the SOESOEHOENAM, as he ſoon became acquainted with the manœuvres they had put in practice, to kindle thoſe flames of diſcord. And if MANKO BOENI were ſubdued, the power of the SOESOEHOENAM would thereby be ſo much augmented, that the Company would, in all probability, have ſtood in need of the exertion of all their power, to ſtand againſt his attack.

Fortune favoured their arms; and though incalculable ſums were expended in the conteſt, they attained their object—the diviſion and ſeparation of the empire.

A conſiderable part of the provinces of the empire of *Java*, among which *Mataram* was one of the principal, was given to MANKO BOENI, under the title of Sultan; the whole of the northeaſt coaſt of the iſland was ceded to the Company, upon condition of their paying a yearly acknowledgement of twenty thouſand rixdollars * to the SOESOEHOENAM, who retained poſſeſſion of the remainder under his former title.

* About 4,350*l.* ſterling. *T.*

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The juriſdiction of this government was further extended by the conqueſt of the land of *Balambouang*, ſituated at the moſt eaſtern extremity of *Java*.

This province, the productions of which can never yield the Company a ſufficient compenſation for the blood and treaſures which it coſts, would doubtleſs have never become an object of their ambition, if the cupidity of one of their ſervants had not excited in them the deſire of poſſeſſing it. Setting no limits to his luſt of wealth, he rather, as ordinary methods could not ſurfeit his rapacity, put the intereſt of his employers to the hazard, than to ſuffer his boundleſs thirſt of gold to remain unſatisfied.

The plauſible pretext by which the government in India, and afterwards the direction in Holland, were inſtigated to diſturb the tranquillity of this country, which they had, for ſo many years, looked upon with ſo much indifference, was the repreſentation, that there was reaſon to fear that the Engliſh wanted to take poſſeſſion of it; nay, that an expedition for that purpoſe was already ſet on foot, and was expected, or

had

had arrived, at the Straits of *Bali*; that they had probably already landed, and would in conſequence eſtabliſh themſelves in time, on the iſland. There was ſome truth in this report, but the Company would, in all likelihood, never have begun that ruinous war, had it not been for theſe intereſted inſtigations; for their competitors would not have found it an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh their trade here, notwithſtanding this was ſo much inſiſted on at *Samarang*.

In this manner was this empire, formerly ſo redoubtable, ſplit into three parts; and it has thereby, not only become a leſs dangerous neighbour to the Company, but is likewiſe entirely under their controul, by means of their holding the balance between the two abovementioned potentates. Even the prince who has the greateſt right to the throne is not appointed heir to the crown, without the conſent of the Company; and the nomination of the prime miniſters of both the princes is likewiſe made by the Company.

The capital city of the SOESOEHOENAM is *Soere Carta*, commonly called *Jolo*, and

is

is ſituated about two days' journey inland, ſoutheaſt from *Saramang*.

That of the ſultan has the name of *D'Jokje Carta*, and lies five days' journey ſouthweſt from *Samarang*, at the ſouth ſide of *Java*, in the province of *Mataram* *.

To the government of *Java's Northeaſt Coaſt*, the ſeat of which is at *Samarang*, belong all the factories, commonly called reſidencies, which the Company poſſeſs from *Oelopampang*, as far as the province of *Cheribon*; which laſt, in the ſame manner as *Bantam*, is under the immediate adminiſtration of the government at *Batavia*.

The ſeacoaſt, thus ceded to the Company, and belonging to the government of *Samarang*, extends from *Oelopampang* to *Tagal*, full one hundred German miles in length: the breadth inland is various, running farther

* The reſting-places, or ſtages, on the road from *Samarang* to *D'Jokje Carta*, are:

from *Saramang*	to *Onara*	5 (Dutch) miles.
from *Onara*	to *Jambou*	7 ditto.
from *Jambou*	to *Sombou*	7 ditto.
from *Sombou*	to *Surrigenent*	6 ditto.
and from *Surrigenent*	to *D'Jokje Carta*	9 ditto. *S.*

into

into the country at one place than at another *. It is divided into nine reſidencies.

Oelopampang

* As Captain BLIGH, on his return from the South Sea, in September, 1789, ſailed along this coaſt in a ſmall ſchooner which he had purchaſed at *Timor*, and has given us ſome particulars reſpecting the ſettlements he touched at, the additional information which his account of them contains, may not be unacceptable; we, accordingly, extract the following particulars from his journal.

"Sunday the 6th. In the afternoon, we ſaw the high land "of Cape *Sandana*, which is the northeaſt part of *Java*. The "next day, we were off the Cape, which is a low point, pro- "jecting from the high land. It is placed by the Dutch maps "in 7° 52′ ſouth; but, according to my obſervation, and our "eſtimated diſtance from the land, I make it in 7° 46′.

"We ſteered to the weſtward, along the coaſt of *Java*, "and on the 10th, at noon, we anchored off *Paſſourwang*, in "two fathoms, diſtant from the ſhore half a league; the en- "trance of the river bearing S.W. The coaſt hereabouts is ſo "ſhoal, that large ſhips are obliged to anchor three or four "miles from the land. As ſoon as we were at anchor, I got "in my boat, and went on ſhore. The banks of the river, "near the entrance, were mud, on which grew a few man- "grove-buſhes. Among them, we ſaw hogs running, and "many were lying dead in the mud, which cauſed a moſt "intolerable ſtench, and made me heartily repent having "come here; but proceeding about a mile up the river, the "the courſe of which was ſerpentine, we found a very "pleaſant country, and landed at a ſmall and well-con- "ſtructed fort. The houſes at *Paſſourwang* are neatly built, "and the country appears to be well cultivated. The pro- "duce of this ſettlement is rice, of which they export large "quantities. There are but few Dutch here; the Javaneſe

"are

Oelopampang is the firſt, beginning from the eaſt. This ſettlement was only eſtabliſhed

" are numerous, and their chief lives with conſiderable ſplen-
" dour. They have good roads, and poſts are eſtabliſhed
" along the coaſt; and it appears to be a buſy and well-regu-
" lated ſettlement. Latitude 7° 36′ ſouth.

" The next day, about noon, we ſailed; and on the
" 12th in the evening, anchored in *Sourabaya*-road, in ſeven
" fathoms: the flagſtaff bearing s. ¼ w. diſtance from the ſhore
" one mile. We found riding here ſeven ſquare-rigged, and
" ſeveral ſmaller veſſels. *Sourabaya* is one of the moſt pleaſant
" places I ever ſaw. It is ſituated on the banks of a river,
" and is a mile and a half diſtant from the ſea-ſhore, ſo that
" only the flagſtaff can be ſeen from the road. The river is
" navigable up to the town for veſſels of 100 tons burthen,
" and the bank on one ſide is made convenient for tracking.
" The Chineſe carry on a conſiderable trade here, and have
" a town on the ſide of the river oppoſite to *Sourabaya*. The
" country near the town is flat, and the ſoil light, ſo that they
" plough with a ſingle bullock, or buffalo. Our latitude ob-
" ſerved in *Sourabaya* road, was 7° 11′ ſouth.

" On the 17th, we ſailed from *Sourabaya*. At noon, we
" anchored at *Griſſee*, which is a town, with a ſmall fort,
" belonging to the Dutch. We remained here about two
" hours. Latitude of *Griſſee* 7° 9′ ſouth.

" The navigation through the Straits of *Madura* is ſo intricate,
" that with the little opportunity I had, I am unable to un-
" dertake a deſcription of it. The next day, September the
" 18th, having paſſed the ſtraits, we bore away to the weſt-
" ward, along the coaſt of *Java*. We had regular ſoundings
" all the way to *Samarang*, off which place we anchored on
" the 22d, in the afternoon; the church bearing s. e. diſtance
" from the ſhore half a league, depth of water two fathoms.

" The

bliſhed after the war of *Balambouang*, and is under the direction of a junior merchant. It is expected that it will yield a conſiderable quantity of rice, but it has not hitherto been able to furniſh any.

Sourabaya is the next; the chief of which has, at preſent, the rank of ſenior merchant, and the title of commander of the eaſtern diſtrict. It moſtly yields rice.

Upon this follows *Griſſee*, where the reſident has the rank of merchant, and the chief produce of which is alſo rice.

Samanap, ſituate on the iſland of *Madura*, is the reſidence of a junior merchant. It yields no article of trade that I know of,

" The ſhoalneſs of the coaſt here, makes the road of *Sama-*
" *rang* very inconvenient, both on account of the great diſ-
" tance which large ſhips (of which there were ſeveral in the
" road) are obliged to lie from the ſhore, and of the landing,
" which is in a river, that cannot be entered before half-flood.
" This river reſembles the one at *Paſſourwang*, the ſhores being
" low, with offenſive dead animals lying about them. *Sama-*
" *rang* is ſurrounded by a wall and ditch. Here is a very good
" hoſpital, and a public ſchool, chiefly for teaching the mathe-
" matics. They have likewiſe a theatre. Proviſions are re-
" markably cheap here, beef being at ten doits per pound,
" and the price of a fowl twelve doits. The latitude of
" *Samarang* is 6° 57′ ſouth.

" On the 26th, we ſailed from *Samarang*, and on the 1ſt of
" October, we anchored in *Batavia*-road." *T.*

and ſerves only to keep a watchful eye over the iſland in which it lies.

Then follows *Rembang*, where formerly a junior merchant was ſtationed, but the chief has now the rank of merchant. It yields ſalt and timber, and is the place where the ſmall veſſels of the Company are built *.

At a little diſtance from *Rembang* lies *Joana*, which is under the controul of a junior merchant. It yields rice and timber, likewiſe a little indigo and cotton-yarn.

Then comes *Japara*, where the reſident has the rank of merchant. Its productions are the ſame as thoſe of *Joana*.

The next is *Samarang*, the reſidence of the governor of *Java*, for the Company. The chief produce of its diſtrict is rice and cotton-yarn.

Farther on is *Pacalonga*, governed by a junior merchant, and yielding ſugar and rice.

And, laſtly, the moſt to the weſtward, *Tagal*, where a merchant is the reſident, which produces rice.

Beſides the reſidents at theſe places along

* A ſhip of 500 tons, and three or four ſmaller veſſels, are annually built here for the ſervice of the Company. *T.*

the

the coaſt, thoſe at the courts of the SOESOE-HOENAM, and the ſultan, are alſo ſubordinate to this government. There are two at each, the firſt having rank of ſenior merchant, and the ſecond that of merchant; with the difference, however, that at *Soera Carta* the firſt is a captain in the military, while at *D'Jokje Carta*, they are both belonging to the corps of *penniſts*.

The Company maintian a body of about one hundred and fifty men, in the ſervice of each of theſe princes, nominally as a body-guard in honour of them; but this number was not complete when I was at *Samarang*, there being a great want of men in this government *.

Both

* The whole eſtabliſhment of the Company, in the government of *Java*'s *Northeaſt Coaſt*, conſiſted, in 1776-1777, of 234 perſons in civil, and 13 in eccleſiaſtical, employments; 35 ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, 109 belonging to the artillery, 268 ſeamen and marines employed on ſhore, 1,356 ſoldiers, and 30 mechanics; in all 2,045 Europeans. The governor has a very lucrative office; it is eſtimated to yield from 80 to 100,000 rixdollars, or nearly 20,000*l.* ſterling annually. He is, therefore, generally ſuperſeded in two or three years, and muſt, in his turn, make room for a more unfledged ſucceſſor, that each may have his due ſhare of the good things of the land. The greateſt part of this immenſe revenue accrues from the trade which the governor is enabled to carry on. His oſtenſible

 emoluments,

Both theſe Javaneſe princes have a number of children, by means of the many concubines they take, ſo that the portion of

emoluments, beſides his ſalary, conſiſt in $\frac{1}{10}$ of an allowance of five per cent, which is granted to the Company's ſervants; the reſt being diſtributed in various proportions to the inferior officers, on all the import and export duties, and other territorial ſources of revenue of the Company, and in a yearly contribution levied from the ſtrand-regents, as they are called, or native magiſtrates of the ſeveral diſtricts, amounting together to 1,713 Spaniſh dollars. Beſides the articles mentioned by our author, a large quantity of lentils, called here *cadjang*, which are much uſed for the conſumption of the common people, with ſome cardemon (the *amomum compactum*), ginger (*amomum zinziber*), and turmeric, are exported from this colony. They are moſtly employed in the country-trade. Part, however, of its produce comes to Europe. In 1778, the following goods, brought from *Java's Northeaſt Coaſt*, were ſold in Holland, viz.

20,000*lb.* of indigo, at *f.*6 (11*s.* ſterling) per *lb.* which ſtood the Company in *f.*1 10 (2*s.* 9*d*).

50,000*lb.* of turmeric.

and 65,000*lb.* of cotton-yarn.

On the other hand, this colony takes a large quantity of opium (to the amount of *f.*1,500,000, or about 136,000*l.* ſterling, annually), ſilk clothes, India piecegoods, and European manufactures, on all which large profits accrue both to the Company and to their ſervants. The ſtatements of Governor Mossel, make the yearly receipts of the Company here amount to *f.*400,000, and the charges to *f.*380,000; but, in 1779, the former were *f.*436,874, and the latter only *f.*281,873, ſhewing a favourable balance of *f*155,001, or about 14,000*l.* ſterling, which makes a handſome appearance, if we conſider the heavy eſtabliſhment. *T.*

each

each child is not very brilliant, and ſome of them are merely common regents at different places: thus I met with one, at the reſidency of *Joana*, who was *tommagong*, or regent, of the province of *Patti*, and at the ſame time uncle of the reigning SOESOEHOENAM.

CHAPTER V.

Combats of Wild Beaſts among the Javaneſe.—Of Tigers with Buffaloes.—Of Criminals with Tigers.—The Company appoint Succeſſors to the Princes of JAVA.—*Likewiſe their Prime Miniſters.—Tommagongs, or native Regents.—Prices paid for the Rice.—Account of the Depatti of* SAMARANG.—*Entertainment at the Governor's Houſe.—The River of* SAMARANG.—*Tides.—Fortifications.—Chineſe Temple.—Warehouſes and Workſhops.—Guardhouſe.—Governmenthouſe.—Suburbs.—Garriſon.—Departure for* JAPARA.—*View of* FISHER'S *Iſland.—Anchorage at* JAPARA.—*Account of that Settlement.—The Fort, Houſe of the Reſident, &c.—Old* JAPARA.—*Ancient Javaneſe Tombs.—Old Mooriſh Temple.—Character of the preſent Reſident.*

THE moſt favourite diverſions of the Javaneſe emperors, are combats between wild beaſts.

When a tiger and a buffalo are to fight together for the amuſement of the court, they are both brought upon the field of combat in large cages. The field is ſurrounded

rounded by a body of Javaneſe, four deep, with levelled pikes, in order that if the creatures endeavour to break through, they may be killed immediately; this, however, is not ſo eaſily effected, but many of theſe poor wretches are torn in pieces, or dreadfully wounded, by the enraged animals.

When every thing is in readineſs, the cage of the buffalo is firſt opened at the top, and his back is rubbed with certain leaves, which have the ſingular quality of occaſioning an intolerable degree of pain, and which, from the uſe they are applied to, have been called buffalo-leaves* by our people. The door of the cage is then opened, and the animal leaps out, raging with pain, and roaring moſt dreadfully.

The cage of the tiger is then likewiſe opened, and fire is thrown into it, to make the beaſt quit it, which he does generally running backwards out of it.

* By the Javaneſe they are called *tamadu*. They ſting like nettles, but much more violently, and even ſo as to cauſe an inflammation in the ſkin. On every vein they have ſharp-pointed prickles, which are tranſparent, and contain a fluid that occaſions the irritation. Dr. THUNBERG ſays, it is a ſpecies of nettle, before unknown, to which he gave the name of *urtica ſtimulans*. T.

As ſoon as the tiger perceives the buffalo, he ſprings upon him; his huge opponent ſtands expecting him, with his horns upon the ground, to catch him upon them, and throw him in the air: if the buffalo ſucceed in this, and the tiger recovers from his fall, he generally loſes every wiſh of renewing the combat: and if the tiger avoid this firſt attempt of the buffalo, he ſprings upon him, and ſeizing him in the neck, or other parts, tears his fleſh from his bones: in moſt caſes, however, the buffalo has the better.

The Javaneſe who muſt perform the dangerous office of making theſe animals quit their cages, may not, when they have done, notwithſtanding they are in great danger of being torn in pieces by the enraged beaſts, leave the open ſpace, before they have ſaluted the emperor ſeveral times, and his majeſty has given them a ſignal to depart; they then retire ſlowly, for they are not permitted to walk faſt, to the circle, and mix with the other Javaneſe.

The emperors ſometimes make criminals condemned to death fight with tigers. In ſuch caſes, the man is rubbed with *borri*, or turmeric, and has a yellow piece of cloth put

put round him, a *kris* is then given to him, and he is conducted to the field of combat.

The tiger, who has, for a long time, been kept faſting, falls upon the man with the greateſt fury, and generally ſtrikes him down at once, with his paw, but if he be fortunate enough to avoid this, and to wound the animal, ſo that it quits him, the emperor then commands him to attack the tiger; and the man is then generally the victim: and even if he ultimately ſucceed in killing his ferocious antagoniſt, he muſt ſuffer death, by the command of the emperor.

An officer in our Company's ſervice, who had long been ſtationed at the courts of the Javaneſe emperors, related to me, that he was once witneſs to a moſt extraordinary occurrence of this kind, namely, that a Javaneſe who had been condemned to be torn in pieces by tigers, and, for that purpoſe, had been thrown down, from the top, into a large cage, in which ſeveral tigers were confined, fortunately fell exactly upon the largeſt and fierceſt of them, acroſs whoſe back he ſat aſtride, without the animal doing him any harm, and even, on the contrary,

trary, appearing intimidated; while the others alſo, awed by the unuſual poſture and appearance which he made, dared not attempt to deſtroy him; he could not, however, avoid the puniſhment of death, to which he had been condemned, for the emperor commanded him to be ſhot dead in the cage.

According to the ſtipulations of the laſt treaty, the Company determine which of the ſons of either emperor ſhall ſucceed his father, who is then nominated heir to the crown; they equally appoint the *pangorang*, or prince, who has the adminiſtration of the empire, and is firſt *warin*, or prime miniſter.

The Company's poſſeſſions along the coaſt, are alſo divided into regencies. A Javaneſe, of ſomewhat more than common birth, is appointed regent in each, by the Company, under the denomination of *tommagong*, to whom the determination of diſputes of ſmall moment, among his ſubordinate Javaneſe, is left; they may even inflict corporal puniſhment, but not death; crimes which require the laſt being only adjudicable

adjudicable by the native council at *Samarang*.

They muſt likewiſe take care that the Javaneſe inhabitants deliver the produce of their land to the Company, or rather to themſelves, in order to convey it afterwards to the ſeveral reſidencies, or factories.

A certain contingent, or aſſeſſment, of produce, is laid upon each of theſe regents, which they muſt be attentive to furniſh punctually, or they run a riſk of being diſmiſſed.

The Company pay a fixed price for every article. That of the rice is ten rixdollars, or twenty-four gilders, for every *coyang* of 3,400 pounds weight *; but when the harveſt fails, they ſometimes pay five rixdollars more; or when the wants are very large, as in the year 1773, when the ſcarcity of this grain at *Batavia*, occaſioned by a certain occurrence reſpecting the firſt adminiſtrator in the grain-magazine, was very great; or when ſeveral ſucceeding harveſts have failed, orders are then given to the reſidents to buy the rice immediately from the natives,

* Equal to about 1*s*. 6*d*. ſterling per *cwt*. *T*.

and

and the *coyang* then ſtands them in fifty rixdollars.

Samarang alone has a *depatti*, who is higher in rank than the *tommagongs*, and a prince of the blood, or *pangerang*. He has however, no juriſdiction over the other regents, than alone over thoſe who are within the diſtrict of *Samarang* itſelf. He is likewiſe the chief of the native council.

I was once in company with this prince, at the houſe of the governor of *Samarang*, who gave an entertainment that evening, on the occaſion of the birthday of his little boy. The *depatti* was placed next to the governor, at his right hand; he appeared to me to be a man of full fifty years of age, rather above the uſual ſtature, thin, and of a brown complexion; he had little beard, a grave deportment, and was very ſedate in converſation, without, however, any affectation.

He was dreſſed in a ſhort brown coat, with ſilver buttons, and ſilver-edged button-holes; the ſleeves ſet tight to the arms, below the elbow, as far as the wriſts. Under this he wore a chintz *ſaron*, which reached to the ground. On his feet he had large ſlippers,

ſquare-

ſquare-toed, and turned up. His cap, or headband, was made of white linen, which having been much beat, and prepared with ſtarch made of rice, was as tranſparent as gauze. He was addreſſed by the governor by the title of *towang depatti*, and treated with great reſpect. His *dalm*, or dwelling, ſtands on the *Paſcébaan*, near the houſe of the governor, whom he is likewiſe obliged to accompany, when he goes to reſide at *Boeyang*, about half a league farther, where he has alſo a manſion cloſe to that of the governor.

On the occaſion of this feſtivel, two of the elders of the church at *Samarang*, the fiſcal, and the lieutenant of the artillery, danced a reel, for the diverſion of the company.

I only notice this circumſtance to ſhew that, in theſe parts, no ſuch rigid diſcipline prevails, with reſpect to the conduct of elders of the church, and no ſuch ſcandal is occaſioned by their dancing in public, as at *Groningen* *, although the parſon was himſelf one of the ſpectators, and highly applauded

* Mr. STAVORINUS here alludes to the auſtere and puritanical ſpirit which prevails among the calviniſts in the United Provinces, and proverbially ſo at *Groningen*, the chief town of the remoteſt of the ſeven. *T.*

the

the agility of their dancers, ſaying with SOLOMON, that there was "a time to weep, and "a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a "time to dance."

The town of *Samarang* lies on the eaſt ſide of the river of the ſame name, which takes its riſe about three Dutch miles inland, and falls into the ſea, about two hundred roods below the place; at its mouth, it is not more than three hundred and thirty, or forty, feet broad. A bridge is thrown over it, leading from the town to the uſual reſidence of the governor, which is called the *Vryberd* (freedom), and is a large and handſome building. The Chineſe and Javaneſe campons, or ſuburbs, are on the ſame ſide of the river.

This river, like all others in *Java*, has a bank lying before its mouth, which is, in ſome places, compoſed of ſoft mud, and in others, of hard ſand. At low-water there is ſcarcely more than one foot water upon it.

Here, as well as all along the coaſt of *Java*, the tide riſes but once in four-and-twenty hours. In the bad monſoon (*kwaade mouſſon*), or when the weſt winds blow, it is high-water in the day-time, and low-water

water at night, and during the good, or eaſt, monſoon, the contrary takes place. When it is low-water without the banks, the rivers are at the higheſt; and the moon ſeems to have no influence at all here upon the tides.

The fortifications of *Samarang* are in the ſame ſtate as all thoſe of the Company which I had opportunities of ſeeing, to wit, moſt deplorably bad. The walls which ſurround it, and connect the projections, which can ſcarcely be called angles, are low and ruinous.

The moſt remarkable object which I ſaw at this place, was a temple of the Chineſe, which is a middling-large building, with two courts before it; it is decorated within with the gigantic images of their gods, which are ſtrongly gilt, and make a ſplendid appearance.

Samarang has a ſmall, but neat, church; near it is an elegant tomb of Mr. Tourlemond, formerly head adminiſtrator and ſecond in command here.

The warehouſes and workſhops ſtand in a row, all under one roof, projecting out, and covering a piazza before them, full three

three hundred feet in length. They are to the ſouthweſt of the town, by the river-ſide.

The guardhouſe, which has been lately erected, has, beſides the place for the privates, two large apartments for the accommodation of the officers, whoare upon duty.

The government-houſe, which was formerly the reſidence of the governor, and where the ſeveral offices are actually held, is near the river, and faces it. There are three campons, or ſuburbs, the Chineſe, the Javaneſe, and the Bougineſe, of which the two firſt are to the weſtward, and the laſt to the eaſtward, of the river.

When the garriſon of *Samarang* is complete, it amounts to one hundred and fifty men, beſides an independent company of dragoons, which are under the command of a captain lieutenant; all the other military of the place are ſubject to the orders of the captain commandant of *Samarang*.

On the 16th of December, after having taken on board one hundred *coyangs* of rice, for account of the Company, and fifty for myſelf, I received my diſpatches from

from Mr. VAN DER BURG, with orders to ſail for *Japara*. Going on board in the evening, I immediately weighed anchor, and ſet ſail with a ſlack landwind, ſteering off ſhore, in order not to be embayed in the bight of *Japara*, by the weſterly wind; and that, if it veered to the N.W. ſo as to render it dangerous to touch at *Japara*, I might have offing enough to ſtretch out to ſea, withoutſide of the iſland *Mandelique*.

The next morning we could not diſcern the land, by reaſon of the hazineſs of the weather; but at noon we got ſight of *Viſſchers*, or *Fiſher's*, Iſland, bearing S.E. three and a half leagues off. This is a ſmall and low iſland, about two leagues and a half S.W. from *Japara*, and particularly diſtinguiſhable by two or three high trees, which grow upon it.

The wind blowing moſtly from the N.E. during this day, we could not reach *Japara*, though we already perceived the flag flying at that ſettlement. At nine o'clock, P.M. we came to an anchor, in eighteen fathoms water, to avoid being miſled, during the night, by the currents.

On the 18th, at three o'clock, A.M. we again got under weigh, and at funrife we were ſtill about three leagues diſtant from the road of *Japara*. At ten o'clock we caſt anchor, cloſe to the eaſt ſide of the iſland *De Nis*; though in the good, or eaſt, monſoon, the anchoring-place is ſomewhat more to the eaſtward, and cloſe to the oppoſite ſhore.

One may paſs both to the north and to the ſouth of this iſland, but the paſſage to the ſouth is more dangerous, on account of the narrowneſs of the channel.

Behind this, and a little to the S.E. lies another iſland, which is ſurrounded by very dangerous ſhoals, and contracts the extent of the road of *Japara*.

From the iſland *De Nis*, the water ſhoals gradually, firſt, from five to two and a half fathoms, and when, in this laſt depth, you are abreaſt of the foul iſland, it then leſſens, by degrees, to ſix feet, when you are cloſe to a high rock, called the *Walviſch*, or *Whale*, whence it ſhoals more and more, with ſome ſunken rocks, to the mouth of the little river of *Japara*, where there is

two

two feet water, and leſs, and which is about 140, or 150, feet over. The ſource of this ſtream lies no more than a ſhort league up the country.

On entering the rivulet, on the north ſide, lies a little gentle eminence, about fifty feet high, on the weſtern part of which ſtands a ſmall triangular fort, one baſtion whereof points to the ſea, and the other two to the land; in the middle of the curtain which connects theſe two laſt is the gate: this fort is mounted with ſeveral pieces of cannon of different calibers; it is built of ſtone, and is kept in good repair: the garriſon conſiſts of one ſerjeant, two corporals, and ſixteen privates. The reſt of the eminence is uſed for a burying-ground, in which the enſign-ſtaff is erected.

On the ſouth ſide of the rivulet, are ſome Javaneſe hetiſes and huts, and about ſixty roods from its mouth, it is croſſed by a bridge.

On the north ſide is the houſe of the reſident, oppoſite to a large plain, planted with ſhady trees, and railed round. It has ſeveral handſome apartments, furniſhed neatly

and elegantly, in the European ſtyle. On the left hand of it is a pleaſant bower, or pavilion, of one hundred feet in length, eighteen in breadth, and ten in height, ſo cloſely interwoven with flowering ſhrubs, that it is impervious to light ſhowers of rain. At the end is a grotto; and when, on an evening, the whole is illuminated, it forms a very charming *coup d'œil.* The laſt evening of my ſtay at *Japara*, we ſupped in the pavilion, which was lighted up.

About a mile and a half above the ſettlement, the ſtream turns a ſawmill, which ſaws the yearly quantity of four or five thouſand large logs of timber, into planks, which are called millplanks. The water is carried to the mill through a brick channel, and a dam is made acroſs the rivulet to prevent it from running off, till there is ſufficient to turn the mill.

One Dutch mile inland, lies the ancient Javaneſe city of *Japara*, called Old *Japara*, which was formerly the reſidence of the ſovereigns of an empire of that name. The tomb of one of them is ſtill in exiſtence; it contains the body of the emperor, that

of

of his moſt beloved wife on the right hand, and of two other of his wives on the left, together with ſeveral of his children. The ſhape of theſe graves is oblong: the approach to them is through a ſort of portico, encloſed by a railing, in a large covered apartment. Over the graves of the emperor and his moſt beloved wife, a large piece of linen is ſtill continually expanded, which covers them both; and they are ſtrewed every Friday with freſh flowers.

Not far from this is an old and ruinous Mooriſh temple, of ſtone, with ſuch beautiful ſculpture of imagery and foliage, that the art and ingenuity of the Javaneſe of thoſe times excites our admiration. This temple is at leaſt three hundred years old.

At the ſeaſide, about two miles from *Japara*, the reſident has a wooden ſummer-houſe, in a pleaſant grove of cocoa-nut-trees, whence there is a very fine proſpect out to ſea, and of the neighbouring iſlands. We here caught a flying ſquirrel.

The actual reſident at *Japara* is Mr. WILLIAM VAN DER BEKE, a native of *Sluice* in *Flanders*, aged upwards of forty years: he is a man whoſe life is devoted to

the ſervice of his fellow-mortals, bleſſed with a liberal and compaſſionate mind, and ever ready to oblige wherever it is in his power. This gentleman has been the chief at *Japara* ever ſince the year 1765.

I had to ſhip ſeven hundred and fifty mill-planks at this place; and having taken theſe on board, I took my leave of the worthy reſident, with much regret, on the 21ſt of December, 1774.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from JAPARA.—*The Island* MANDELIQUE.—*Anchorage before* JOANA.—*Account of that Settlement.—The River.—Inland Navigation to* SAMARANG.—*The Town.—Chinese Campon.—Fort.—House of the Resident.—Character, &c. of the present Resident.—His Emoluments.—Celebration of the New Year.—Account of the Tommagongs, or native Regents.—Of the Pattis, or Sub-regents.—Entertainment at the House of one of the Tommagongs.—Departure from* JOANA.—*The Island* LUBOK.—*View of the Hill of* RADIONA.—*Of the Island* MADURA.—*Of Islands supposed to be the little* PULO LAUTS.—*Great Inaccuracy of the Company's Charts.—View of the* NOUSSA LINAS.—*Of the Island* ROTTERDAM. *Of the* HEN AND CHICKENS.—*Of the* SALINAS.—*The Bank called the* BOOT.—*View of the* TONINS *Islands.—Of the Three Brothers.—Of* TANAKEKE.—*Of* GALISSING.—*Anchorage in the Road of* MAGASSER.

EARLY on the morning of the 22d of December, 1774, we weighed anchor, and put to sea, in order to proceed to *Joana*,

where I was to take in the remainder of the cargo.

The next day, at ſunriſe, we found ourſelves abreaſt of the iſland *Mandelique*, often called the *Duivelſklip*, or *Devil's* Rock, becauſe, in the eaſt monſoon, ſhips are detained here a long time by contrary winds and currents, before they can weather it.

This iſland is ſmall, but of a middling height, ſo as to be ſeen at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues. It lies about half a league from the coaſt of *Java*; between which and the iſland there is a paſſage, in three and a half, or four, fathoms water, but it is too narrow to be ſafe, and ſhips therefore very ſeldom paſs through it. At this place, we buried the third man who we had loſt ſince our leaving *Batavia*.

Having paſſed the iſland *Mandelique*, we ſailed round the reef which ſtretches out more than a league and a half from the point of *Fayo* (between which and Point *Leſſem*, lies the bight of *Rembang* and *Joana*), towards the road of *Joana*, but not being able to get ſight of the enſign-ſtaff of that ſettlement, we anchored, at ſunſet, in the outer road.

The

The enſuing day, the 24th of December, ſailing farther in, we dropped our anchor in three and a half fathoms water, the bottom being ſoft mud.

Having ſeen all ſafe on board, I went with the Company's papers to the reſidency, where I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon.

The river of *Joana* flows out of a large inland lake, into which ſeveral ſmall ſtreams diſcharge themſelves. It is called the inland ſea, and diſembogues its ſuperfluous water moſtly through this river, which, after running a conſiderable way, with many ſinuoſities, falls into the ſea about four leagues to the weſtward of *Rembang*.

It is one of the largeſt and moſt navigable rivers along the whole north coaſt of *Java*, being at the mouth, and a great way up, beyond the reſidency, twenty and more feet deep. Its breadth is about two hundred feet.

In the bad monſoon, the afflux is much more violent than in the good monſoon. The water, as is the caſe with all rapid ſtreams, is turbid; but when it has ſtood

ſtill

ſtill ſome time in pots, or caſks, it becomes very clear and pleaſant.

Sailing up this river with the boats called *permayangs*, into the inland ſea, there is a paſſage along ſeveral other rivers, to *Samarang*, and thence farther up the country. This navigation may be performed in two or three days; and it is eſpecially availed of, in the bad monſoon, when the voyage by ſea, round the iſland *Mandelique*, requires too long a time, and is much too dangerous for ſmall craft.

A broad mudbank, upon which there is ſometimes leſs than a foot water, lies before the mouth of the river of *Joana*. From its mouth to the reſidency, which ſtands full a league up, on the weſt ſide, it runs between low and ſwampy grounds, which are uncultivated, and produce nothing but bruſhwood: they are ſometimes inundated when the river ſuddenly riſes, after heavy rains.

The town of *Joana* commences juſt above the reſidency. It conſiſts of two rows of houſes built along the river, about a quarter of a Dutch mile in length. At the farther

ther end lies the *Paſtelbaan*, and not far from it is the dwelling of the *tommagong*.

On the oppoſite ſide, upon an iſland, formed by the river, of about half a Dutch mile in circumference, ſtands the Chineſe campon.

The odge, or fort, of *Joana*, is a redoubt, with four demi-baſtions, in which are the rice-warehouſes, the barracks for the ſoldiery, and ſome buildings which ſerve for a kitchen and other offices for the reſident. The houſe of the reſident ſtood formerly within the fort, but it has been pulled down, and a new one has been built of freeſtone, without it, on the eaſt ſide, which is kept in excellent repair.

This manſion was conſtructed according to the plan and drawing of the engineer HAAK: throughout India I have not ſeen any building that equalled it in grandeur and boldneſs of architecture. It conſiſts of two pieces, oppoſite to each other, which are connected by a lofty dome of full twenty-five feet diameter, ſupported by four columns of the Tuſcan order. Both theſe pieces are, however, but of one ſtory; they are ſixty feet long, and twenty-five broad, within

within the walls. One of them forms a ſingle hall of the ſame dimenſions. The other is divided into three apartments; the middle one, which is twenty-five feet in depth, and about ſixteen in breadth, is oppoſite to the door of the great hall, and to the great dome: it is fitted up as a chapel; the entrance to it is through a handſome arch, or portico: on each ſide of it is a large chamber, of the ſame ſize, making, together with the chapel, the length of the whole building on this ſide, and the ſame as that of the great hall. The walls of all theſe apartments are beautifully ſtuccoed, adorned with ſumptuous gilt corniſhes, and the roofs are concave, being wainſcoted, and curiouſly adorned with carved imagery.

Behind this pile, ſtands a building, conſtructed entirely of wood, provided with three handſome rooms, and above theſe is one large apartment for the unmarried female ſlaves, and which might therefore be called the ſeraglio. From this edifice, there is a moſt delightful view backwards, over the *paddee*, or rice, fields, interſperſed with ſmall groves, and terminated by the diſtant and lofty mountains of *Japara*.

In

In the front of all ſtands a handſome ſaloon, built cloſe to the riverſide, and equally erected at the expence of the preſent reſident. It is of an oblong octagon ſhape, and is ſtuccoed on the ſides and roof, but the corniſhes are not gilt. A large balcony projects from it towards the river, the only inconvenience of which conſiſts in the ſwarms of moſquitos which infeſt it every evening.

The actual reſident is Mr. PHILIP WILLIAM NEUWITH, a native of *Frieſland*, twenty-eight years of age, a moſt polite and friendly man. He ſerved as lieutenant in the navy, under the admiralty of *Amſterdam*, and obtained his diſcharge from that ſervice, with the rank of captain. A few months after he firſt came here as chief, he had the misfortune, that the lodge, or fort, was ſurprized early in the morning, by a gang of banditti, on which occaſion ſeveral Europeans loſt their lives, and ſome warehouſes were burnt down; on the ſame day, however, he ſucceeded in expelling them from the fort, by the aſſiſtance of ſome faithful Javaneſe, Chineſe, and Mandhareſe, who were lying here with their veſſels;

veſſels; and the freebooters fled on all ſides, leaving behind them ſeveral dead, and ſeveral were taken priſoners, who were immediately, and ſummarily, put to death, without any form of trial.

The emoluments of this reſidency amount annually to ſixteen thouſand rixdollars *, and more. They proceed from the ſurplus-weight of the rice, delivered by the native regents to the Company, and from the cheap rate at which this article is purchaſed, not to mention what he himſelf buys up, and diſpoſes of to individuals, for at leaſt, fifty per cent profit; likewiſe from the collection of the timber yearly furniſhed to the Company, at a fixed price, and which coſts him no more than the labourage, which is very cheap here, as he has only to ſend two or three hundred Javaneſe into the woods, to fell the trees, and hew them into logs.

The conſtruction of ſhips, likewiſe, affords conſiderable gain to the preſent reſident; for both timber and labour coſt him little; for a Javaneſe maſter-ſhipwright earns no

* About 3,500*l.* ſterling. *T.*

more

more than about ſix *dubbeltjes*, or two-penny-pieces, a day, his aſſiſtants, four, and the common labourers, two.

He lately built a ſnow of one hundred and one feet in length, according to the model of the ſtates' armed ſnow, the *Zephyr*, of *Rotterdam*, which was fitted up in as handſome a manner as I ever ſaw ſuch a veſſel. He offered it for ſale at twenty thouſand rixdollars, and afterwards took eighteen thouſand.

There are alſo profits attached to the *Bhandaary*, or farm of the duties, which accrue, nominally, to the Chineſe, but, in reality, to the reſident.

A few days before the new year, every Javaneſe, who had the leaſt connection, either with the Company, or with the reſident, came to make preſents to him, conſiſting chiefly of poultry, eggs, ſugar, fruit, &c. Thoſe who were of a higher order, ſuch as the Chineſe captain, brought rolls of ſatin.

On the firſt of January, 1775, a ſalute of one and twenty guns, was fired, at ſunriſe, from ſome ſmall pieces of cannon, planted before the ſaloon. On this occaſion,

caſion, an European, a ſtrong and corpulent man, who acted as gunner, met with a terrible accident. Paſſing before the muzzle of one of the guns, the priming of which had flaſhed, without diſcharging the piece, it went off the inſtant he was before it, and blew him upwards of ſix feet forwards; the loading had fortunately been rammed down without a wad, ſo that he was no otherwiſe hurt, than by being dreadfully burnt, on his ſide, arm, and belly, ſo that he was not cured when I left the place.

Two hours afterwards, came three Javaneſe regents, or *tommagongs*, belonging to the diſtrict of this factory, to congratulate the reſident, on the new year, in the following manner: *Sallamat taon baro Touwang alli caſſi ou mour panjang*; that is, "much joy with the new year, God grant "you a long life."

The firſt of theſe regents, who was *tommagong* over part of the province of *Patti*, appeared to me to be a man of full fifty years old. He had grey hairs, and a little beard. Mr. NEUWITH told me, that he was eſteemed one of the moſt intelligent

of

of the Javaneſe. He was even thought ſo much of, that the SOESOEHOENAM wanted much to have made him adminiſtrator of his empire, but he declined the dignity, preferring to be a common regent in the Company's poſſeſſions, than a powerful ſtateſman under an arbitrary monarch; for the miniſters of thoſe princes are not only liable to incur a ſpeedy diſgrace, and to be diſmiſſed from their offices, but they are often degraded to the rank of *battari*, which is little different from the condition of a ſlave, obliged to perform the moſt menial, and moſt toilſome, offices; while it is very ſeldom that the Company come to ſuch extremities.

His dreſs conſiſted of a ſhort coat, or jacket, of deep red velvet, which came a little below the hips, and was faſtened with little ſilver buttons, round the body, under the arms, and round the wriſts. The lower part of this jacket, below the buttons, was ſtiffened out all round. Under it he wore a *ſaron*, in the country-faſhion, round his body, which hung down to his heels, and was made of Javaneſe painted cloth. His kris was in a ſheath of gold, beautifully

worked, and the handle was made of *cajou pelli*, which is reckoned the moſt coſtly wood produced in the Indies; it is very ſcarce, of a greyiſh colour, with thin black veins running through it, and of a very hard, cloſe, and fine texture. His cap was of purple velvet, bordered with narrow ſilver lace. Like moſt Javaneſe of diſtinction, he ſpoke little, and with a becoming gravity.

The next regent was the uncle of the preſent SOESOEHOENAM, and equally regent of the province of *Patti*. The ſimplicity of this man was as remarkable as the intelligence of the former; and the reſident was always able to do whatever he pleaſed in the province of *Patti*, as the latter was very eaſily perſuaded to every thing.

The third regent was the *tommagong* of *Joana*, a large, comely man, whoſe goodnature was pictured in his open and friendly countenance: in underſtanding, however, he was alſo not to be compared to the firſt.

There was likewiſe another, who was regent of *Caylam*, as well as a native of the place. The other Javaneſe would not acknowledge

knowledge him, or any of the Caylammers, to be of their own race, or true Javaneſe, ſaying that they were produced from the unnatural connection of a woman with a dog. Indeed, the whole time that they were together, I did not perceive that one of the other regents condeſcended to addreſs a ſingle word to him.

Each regent had his *patti*, or ſub-regent, with him; but while the former ſat upon a chair, the latter was obliged to ſit upon the floor, upon his heels, and when called by his ſuperior, to creep along the ground to him, and ſit down at his feet, waiting till he was pleaſed to ſpeak, or to iſſue his commands.

At ſeven o'clock in the evening, theſe regents came, with a number of ſervants, with muſical inſtruments, &c. to ſupper to the reſident's houſe. Before ſupper we had muſic and dancing in the European ſtyle; but after it, ſeveral Javaneſe dancing girls were ſent for, with whom each of the regents, and after them their *pattis*, danced, or, as they term it, *tandacked*, in their faſhion, to the ſound of their own muſical

inſtruments, gomgoms, boudas, and a kind of violins, which continued till late at night, when they all left us for their own houſes.

On the 3d of January, I went, with the reſident, to pay a viſit to the *tommagong* of *Joana*. He received us dreſſed in ſtate, and during the playing of gomgoms, and other inſtruments. His favourite wife, and the wife of his ſon, together with his mother, likewiſe came and drank tea with us. A large ſilver plate with confectionary ſtood upon a table near us, and each took what he liked of it.

On the 14th of the ſame month, we were invited to ſupper by the ſame regent, who gave an entertainment on the occaſion of the marriage of his daughter, which had been ſolemnized ſome time before. The reſident had cauſed, at his deſire, the proviſions to be dreſſed by his own people, in the European manner, ſo that there was little or no Javaneſe victuals to be ſeen. After ſupper, ſome dancing girls were again introduced, with whom the *tommagong* and his ſons *tandacked*. Their wives were not preſent at this; and when, a ſhort time before

fore the company broke up, they came in, care had been taken that the dancing girls were gone before they entered the room.

During my ſtay at *Joana*, we had very unfavourable, windy, and rainy weather, by which the loading of my ſhip was delayed, and I was deprived of the pleaſure of taking a journey inland, to the inner ſea, or to the province of *Patti*, which the *tommagong* ſtrongly urged me to do, ſo that I did not go farther than about a Dutch mile and a half up the country, to one of the country-ſeats, or gardens, of the reſident, who has four of them.

At laſt the ſhip received the complement of her cargo, having taken in, both from this place and from *Rembang*, one hundred and fifty coyangs of rice, beſides a quantity of logs and planks.

On the 21ſt of January I went on board, with the Company's papers, but it was not till the 24th that I could leave the road, being obliged to wait till then for thirty leagers of water, which could not be ſhipped before, on account of the ſtormy weather.

On the 24th, at eleven o'clock, P.M. we weighed anchor, and left the road of *Joana*,

experiencing much difficulty in getting the ſhip afloat, as ſhe lay, at leaſt, two feet ſunk in the mud.

The next day in the morning, at ſunriſe, we were abreaſt of the point of *Leſſeum*, whence we ſteered direct eaſt, in order to run in ſight of the iſland *Lubok*, commonly called the *Baviaan*, or *Baboon*, but we did not ſee it, as we paſſed it in the following night.

This iſland is not large, but, as I was informed, extremely populous. Seventy or eighty veſſels go continually to and fro, between it and the coaſts of *Java* and *Borneo*. As far as I know, the inhabitants have no connection with, and are independent of, the Company.

On the 26th of January, at ſunriſe, we ſaw the hill of *Radiona*, which is a high mountain, ſituated far inland, in the iſland of *Java*; as likewiſe part of the iſland of *Madura*, whence we took our laſt obſervation of the land, ſteering for the iſland *Solombo*.

Along the coaſts of *Java*, from *Joana*, as far as the point of *Griſſe* (where the land turns firſt to the ſouth, to *Sourabaya*, and then,

then, behind the iſland *Madura*, in an eaſterly direction, to the Straits of *Bali*, through which it ſtretches to the ſouth again, as far as the ſouthern Indian ocean), there is no danger to be avoided. One may ſail without apprehenſion along the ſhore, at the diſtance of one or two leagues from the land, only taking care to ſteer clear of the projecting points.

Many high mountains lie inland; the foreland is, on the contrary, low, but may be ſeen at the diſtance of three and a half, or four, leagues.

I ſaw the land of *Madura* eight or nine leagues off; but the eaſtern part of it, it is ſaid, is viſible at fifteen, and more, leagues' diſtance.

We ſailed till the 28th of January, eaſt and north, without ſeeing any land. In the morning of that day, at ſunriſe, we diſcovered two iſlands, from the maſthead, bearing N.N.W. which we conceived were the little *Pulo Lauts*, or *Water*-Iſlands. We at firſt thought, that they were the *Nouſſa Linas*. But whichever they were, this is certain, that neither the one, nor the other,

are placed in their true ſituations, in the Company's charts.

Much ſtreſs is laid, among the Company's ſervants, upon the great danger of the navigation to the eaſtward of *Batavia*, which may poſſibly be encouraged underhand, for political reaſons, by perſons in power; but I did not, in fact, find it ſo bad, at leaſt as far as *Celebes*, or *Macaſſer*, as is pretended. It would be well if the charts of theſe parts, which the Company give to their veſſels, were correct; it is this that makes the navigation ſo dangerous. None of the iſlands which I met with, except the group called the *Hen and Chickens*, are laid down in their true latitudes, as may be proved by my log-book, and thoſe of other ſhips. This inaccuracy not only renders theſe charts uſeleſs, but likewiſe extremely dangerous; for inſtead of being, as they ought, the ſureſt guide and dependence of the navigator, they miſlead him, and become his bane. It is not impoſſible, but this may be purpoſely left ſo, and that it is an adopted opinion, that it is better to expoſe a few ſhips to the danger of ſhipwreck, than to correct errors,

errors, which might operate to render the navigation towards the Spice Iſlands difficult and hazardous for other nations; for it cannot be pretended, that this notorious faultineſs is unknown to the Company, ſince the commander of every veſſel, on his return to *Batavia*, muſt deliver a journal of his voyage to a maſter-mapmaker, or hydrographer, ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe; and no one, who, in any degree, deſerves the name of ſeaman, can paſs over ſuch groſs miſtakes, without noting them down in his logbook: for my own part, at leaſt, I have ſeen, and had in my poſſeſſion, for a long time, ſeveral logbooks, in which the ſame errors, which I have juſt noticed, have been equally mentioned.

The government at *Batavia*, moreover, ſtrictly enjoin the commanders of all veſſels, not only duly to note all ſuch matters in their logbooks, but likewiſe to give a particular account thereof to the governor general, or to the chief of the ſettlement where they arrive, agreeably to the reſolution, to that purpoſe, taken on the 10th of December, 1771; and yet the charts have never been

been altered, ſince that period, no more than before.

The next day, the 29th of January, at four o'clock, P.M. we ſaw, from the top, an iſland, bearing N.E. which, from its latitude, we ſuppoſed was that called *Rotterdam*.

This morning, one of our beſt ſailors, being upon the foretopſail-yard, looking out for the land, was ſeized with the epilepſy, and fell down, firſt upon the railings of the ſhip's head, and afterwards overboard; he ſunk inſtantaneouſly, without there being any poſſibility of ſaving him.

The above iſland was ſtill viſible from the maſthead the following morning, as we had made but little progreſs during the night.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, we came in ſight of another iſland, paſt which we ſailed at the diſtance of three leagues and a half, and recogniſed it, without any doubt, for that of *Rotterdam*; ſo that the iſlands of the preceding evening muſt have been the *Nouſſa Linas*, although there was a difference of four or five leagues in the latitude.

On the 31ſt, at ſunriſe, we got ſight of four or five ſmall iſlands, called the *Hen and Chickens*,

Chickens, and could juſt ſee the iſland *Rotterdam* from the maſthead, bearing N.N.W. We hence ſteered our courſe, in order to run in ſight of the iſlands the *Salinas*.

From theſe iſlands, a large bank ſtretches out, to the ſouthward, full five leagues, upon which there is a very uneven, rocky bottom, with a depth, in ſome places, of ſix, and, in others, of twelve, twenty, and more, fathoms. This is called the *Laars*, or *Boot*, and all the ſhips, which ſail to the eaſtward, run over it, in order to avoid taking the large circuit, which they would have to do, if they ſailed round its ſouthern extremity.

At four o'clock, P.M. we came in ſight of thoſe iſlands, bearing due eaſt from us, which differed, at leaſt, two points, from their ſituation as laid down in the charts. We immediately ſteered S.E. in order to keep at a good diſtance from them, and not to paſs the *Boot* in too ſhoal water; at the beginning of the firſt watch we ſteered E.S.E. and at midnight, conceiving that we had paſſed them, due eaſt: we continually ſounded with a line of forty and fifty fathoms, but found no bottom, ſo that we had paſſed to the ſouth of the bank.

The

The next day, being the 1st of February, we discovered, a little before sunrise, the *Tonins*, or *Tunny* Islands, which are three in number, but which we now saw in one, bearing N. by W. as likewise the islands the *Salinas*, bearing N.W. by W. We then steered E.N.E. for the islands the *Three Brothers*, which, together with the island *Tanakeke*, we got sight of at eleven o'clock, A.M. the latter bearing east, and the former E.N.E.

Keeping this course, we steered for the northernmost of the *Three Brothers*; shortly afterwards we saw the high land of *Celebes*, and found, at noon, by a good observation of the sun's altitude, that all these parts lie twenty minutes, or five leagues, more to the southward, than they are laid down in the charts.

At half past one o'clock, P.M. we struck soundings in fifteen fathoms, upon the bank of *Tanakeke*, across which we passed in fourteen fathoms, steering between the northernmost and middlemost of the *Three Brothers*, but ran within a cable's length of the first, in order to avoid the reef that stretches out into the middle of the channel, from the other. We afterwards steered for the island

Galissing,

Galiſſing, and, at ſunſet, we anchored at the diſtance of a league from it.

On the 2d of February, we weighed anchor, and got under ſail, in order to work up to the eaſtward, for the road of *Macaſſer*, but were prevented from making much progreſs by the light winds and contrary currents.

At four o'clock, P.M. the intendant of equipment, XINSEN, came on board, with an order from the government at *Macaſſer*, to pilot the ſhip in; but half an hour after ſunſet, we again came to an anchor, not having advanced more than half a league during this whole day.

The following day, we continued to ply as before, without being able to reach the road, though we advanced a little. On the 4th of February, however, we were enabled to anchor in the outer road, though not without danger, as the intendant of equipment, who acted here as pilot, had the imprudence, notwithſtanding it was already dark, to attempt carrying the ſhip into the inner road, and thereby run her aground upon the rocky ſhoal, that extends about an eighth of a league from the ſouth end of the

iſland

iſland *Ly Ly*, although I repeatedly admoniſhed him of the danger; but after having been aground for more than half an hour, I had the ſatisfaction of bringing her off again.

On the 5th, at daybreak, we again went to work, and ſucceeded this time, ſo that, at noon, we let drop our anchor before Fort *Rotterdam*, which we ſaluted with thirteen guns, and were anſwered with five.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Deſcription of MACASSER.—*The Road.—Inſtructions for ſailing into it.—The Environs.—Seaſons.—Produce.—Manufactures.—Slavetrade.—Account of the Bougineſe and Macaſſers.—Their Character.—Arms.—Dreſs.—Food.—Bougineſe Women.—Religion.—Burials.—Great Trade.—Fort* ROTTERDAM.—*Church.—Village of* VLAARDINGEN.—*Campons.—Buryingground.—Excellent Character of the Clergyman.—Importance of* CELEBES *to the Company.—Their firſt Eſtabliſhment here.*

THE road of *Macaſſer* is, in the good, or ſoutheaſt, monſoon, one of the fineſt which I have ſeen in India, and is very ſecure.

The iſlands *Great Ly Ly* and *Little Ly Ly*, with their reefs, defend it from ſouthweſt to north; and I conceive that there is a ſafe anchorage, cloſe under *Great Ly Ly*, in the bad monſoon, and when the northweſt winds blow violently.

The entrance of the road is between the abovementioned iſland of *Ly Ly*, and a ſunken rock, which lies full a quarter of a league

league ſouth from the point of the reef of *Ly Ly*, cloſe to which you muſt keep, becauſe in a ſtill ſea, there is no appearance of the rock; but when there is any ſwell, the ſea may be ſeen breaking upon it from a diſtance, as ſoon as you have paſſed the *Three Brothers*. In ſailing up, you muſt keep between the middlemoſt and northernmoſt of theſe, and cloſer to the latter than to the former, becauſe there is a reef which ſtretches out from the middlemoſt, and you muſt then ſteer E.N.E. and N.E. by E. for the iſland *Galiſſing*, as beforementioned, over unequal depths of ſeventeen to eleven, ſixteen, nineteen, and twenty-two, fathoms, grey ſand, with ſmall ſhells.

The little iſland of *Galiſſing* lies a quarter of a league from the ſhore, to which it is united by a reef, which likewiſe ſtretches on each ſide a ſhort quarter of a league from it: it is ſoon diſcovered to be an iſland. As ſoon as you are abreaſt of it, *Great Hertebeeſten*, or *Stag* Iſland, appears in the north; you then ſteer, with the wind large, N.N.E. you then ſee more ſmall iſlands to the northward, namely, the ſouthernmoſt and northernmoſt of the *Barrings*, *Little Hertebeeſten*, or *Stag* Iſland,

Iſland, *Duivels*, or *Devil's* Iſland, and afterwards the iſland *Ly Ly*, for which, as ſaid before, you then ſteer; and, laſtly, for the anchoring-place.

The depths along this navigation are unequal, but they are confined between ten and twenty-two fathoms; the bottom is ſand, and ſandey clay. The currents, which muſt be carefully attended to, when it is neceſſary to work up for the road, ſet to the N.E. and S.W. Care muſt likewiſe be taken in working up, not to ply too much to the weſtward, as there are ſunken rocks, upon which there are no more than ſixteen or eighteen feet water: yet there is no danger, if the *Great Hertebeeſten*, or *Stag* Iſland, be not brought to bear more eaſterly than N.½E. You muſt ply to weſtward with the landwinds, and anchor till the ſeawinds blow, when you muſt bear up for the ſhore, taking likewiſe advantage of the currents.

When you have paſſed the iſland *Galiſſing*, you may run pretty cloſe in with the ſhore, till you get near the place called *het Witte Graf*, or the *White Tomb*, then look out for the rock which forms the ſouthern ſide of the entrance to the road; if you ſee no ſurf

breaking upon it, ſteer a little more off ſhore, till the iſland *Great Ly Ly* bears N.N.E. or N.E. by N. and you will then avoid the danger of falling upon it. The ſouth latitude is about 5° 40′.

After the ſhip was moored, I went on ſhore, at five o'clock, P.M. with the Company's papers, and waited firſt upon the governor, Mr. PAUL GODFREY VAN DER VOORT, and afterwards upon Mr. BERNARD VAN PLEUREN, late ſecond in command of this government, but now the governor elect of *Amboyna*; for the purpoſe of conveying whom to his government my ſhip had called at *Macaſſer*. I requeſted of both theſe gentlemen that all poſſible expedition might be uſed in the diſpatch of my veſſel, as there was great reaſon to fear, that the eaſt monſoon would ſoon ſet in, which would be the occaſion of a very long voyage; and they both promiſed me, that I ſhould be diſpatched with all ſpeed.

The environs of this place are very pleaſant; it lies in an extenſive plain, which reaches to the foot of a high range of mountains, ſituated ſeven or eight Dutch miles to the eaſtward, and which divides this part of *Celebes*,

Celebes, lying to the weſtward of the bay of *Boni*, and ſouth of the gulph of *Tomini*, into two parts. This range is called the mountains of *Bontain*, becauſe the ſouthern part of it terminates in the diſtrict of that name.

This plain is covered, as far as the eye can reach, with rice-fields, and paſture-grounds, which are interſperſed, here and there, with ſmall groves of fruitbearing or ſhady trees, and watered by drains made out of the larger rivers which deſcend from the mountains.

The ſeaſons, known here, as throughout the eaſt, by the denomination of monſoons, are the ſame as at *Java*; the ſoutheaſt monſoon being called the good, and the northweſt the bad one. The firſt brings always (at leaſt, in the country weſt of the above range of mountains) a clear ſky, and dry weather; the laſt is accompanied with violent winds, and continual heavy rain: but to the eaſtward of the ridge, the exact contrary takes place; for, while the eaſt monſoon brings on fair weather to the eaſtward, nothing but guſts of wind and ſhowers of rain are to be met with to the weſtward; ſo that the different ſeaſons of ſummer and

winter are felt, at the ſame time, at no more than eight Dutch miles diſtance from each other.

The chief production of the iſland *Celebes* is rice, of which it yields more than a ſufficiency to maintain its own inhabitants, though they are very numerous; but it is not ſo good as the Java rice. Much cotton is likewiſe produced, of which the inhabitants make women's dreſſes, which are held to be the fineſt of all India *.

* Theſe garments are called *cambays*; they are red checquered, mixed with blue, but dull coloured; they reach from head to foot, and are often ſold from ſix to ten Spaniſh dollars a-piece. The Bougineſe often import cotton from the iſland *Bali*, both raw and ſpun into yarn: at *Bali* they do not underſtand packing cotton, but ſtuff it in baſkets. The Bougineſe likewiſe manufacture beautiful ſilk belts, in which they fix their kriſſes; alſo a kind of paper, from the inner bark of a ſmall tree, in which they wrap their fine cambays; they often dye this paper of various colours, and export much of it to *Manilla*, and many other places; it reſembles the Otaheite cloth. They make fire arms, but cannot make gunlocks; they alſo caſt ſmall braſs guns, which they call *rantakka*; the larger *rantakka* is about ſix feet long, and carries a half-pound ball. They are curious in fillagree work, both in gold and ſilver. Captain FORREST was informed, that they ſailed in their paduakans, or prows, to the northern parts of *New Holland*, probably *Carpentaria*-Bay, to gather ſea-ſwallow *(biche de mer)*, which they ſell to the annual Chineſe junk at *Macaſſar*: they ſaid alſo that gold was to be got there. *T.*

Gold

Gold is likewiſe found in the kingdom of *Loehoe*, and in the eaſtern parts of the iſland, which is partly collected for the Company at *Gorontalo*.

The ſlavetrade is alſo much proſecuted here, moſt of the eaſtern ſettlements, *Batavia*, and *Java*, being provided with ſlaves from *Celebes*. They are, in general, kidnapped, and ſold in ſecret to the Europeans, who carry them away in their ſhips *.

Of the various nations who inhabit *Celebes*, the Bonians, or Bougineſe †, and the Macaſſers, are the moſt known; the latter are the moſt conſiderable of thoſe who have been forced by the arms of the Company to enter into alliance with them; their lands likewiſe lie near thoſe of the Company, and they are, therefore, better known in hiſtory, than the more diſtant kingdoms and nations.

The Bougineſe, at preſent the moſt powerful nation in *Celebes*, though a century ago

* About one hundred ſlaves are annually purchaſed at *Macaſſer* by the Dutch Company, for their own ſervice, and conveyed to *Batavia*; the whole remainder of this iniquitous traffic is in the hands of private individuals and free inhabitants of thoſe two places. *T.*

† Called, in general, *Buggeſſes* by the Engliſh, *T.*

they came in no compariſon with the Macaſſers, who were then the moſt celebrated and potent nation of the iſland, are of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and muſcular, and of a lightbrown complexion; there are ſome of them who are even nearly as fair as Europeans, eſpecially among the women, who have pleaſing countenances, except that their noſes are rather flattiſh.

The Macaſſers, on the other hand, are not ſo handſome, but have a more manly and more martial appearance; they poſſeſs likewiſe more courage, and are greater enemies of treachery, while the Bougineſe will never attack their adverſaries openly, but always endeavour to deſtroy them by treachery: they will even take away the lives of ſuch as have never offended them, if they can do it without being diſcovered, be it only, as they ſlightingly ſay, to try whether their kriſſes are good; to which diabolical temper the Europeans at *Macaſſer* often become the victims, as even happened during my very ſhort ſtay there.

Their kriſſes and aſſagays are, in general, poiſoned, as are likewiſe the little darts which

which they blow through their *ſampits*, or wooden tubes.

Their dreſs conſiſts in a piece of cotton cloth, red or blue, wound round the body, and drawn tight between the legs. The upper part of the body is naked. Upon the head they wear a piece of cotton, like an handkerchief, with which they cover their hair, which is very long, and quite black. Neither men, nor women, ſuffer any hair to grow upon any other parts of the body; but, as is cuſtomary with all the Mahomedans in India, they pluck it out, by the roots, as ſoon as it appears.

Their food is rice, fiſh, and piſang, and their drink water, though they have likewiſe *ſagwire*, or palmwine.

The Bougineſe women are, in general, much handſomer than thoſe of any other Indian nation. There are ſome among them, who, for the contour of their faces, would be eſteemed beauties even in Europe; and did they but poſſeſs the lilies and roſes of our northern fair, they would be equal to the handſomeſt of the ſex. They are all moſt ardently addicted to the ſenſual pleaſures of love; and, goaded on by the hotteſt fires

of luſt, are ingenious in every refinement of amorous enjoyment; on this account, the Bougineſe girls are preferred throughout the eaſt, for concubines, both by Europeans and by Indians. Mr. VAN PLEUREN, who had reſided here for eight years, and ſeveral other credible people, informed me, that among theſe women, and thoſe of *Macaſſer*, were many who, in common with ſome of the Portugueſe women at *Batavia*, poſſeſſed the ſecret of being able, by certain herbs and other means, to diſqualify their inconſtant lovers from repeating the affront to them, inſomuch, that the offending part ſhrunk entirely away; with other circumſtances, which decency requires that I ſhould ſuppreſs.

The religion univerſally received here, is that of Mahomet, which allows the men four legal wives, if they can maintain them; but if they do not like each other, they ſeparate with as much eaſe as they before became united.

Their burials are performed without much ceremony: the body is wrapped in a piece of white linen, and laid in the grave, upon which ſome ſweetſcented flowers are ſtrewn,

ſtrewn, and two ſtones erected, one at the head, and the other at the feet.

This is the whole of what the ſhortneſs of my ſtay allowed me to collect reſpecting the characters and cuſtoms of theſe people, ſo renowned throughout the eaſt *.

Fort

* "The Macaſſers and Bugguеſs people, who come annually to trade at *Sumatra*, are looked upon by the inhabitants as their ſuperiors in manners; the Malays affect to copy their ſtyle of dreſs, and frequent alluſions to their feats and achievements are made in their ſongs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly ſurpaſſes that of all others in the eaſtern ſeas, acquires them this flattering diſtinction; they alſo derive part of the reſpect ſhewed them, from the richneſs of the cargoes they import, and the ſpirit with which they ſpend the produce." MARSDEN's *Sumatra*, page 174.

The Buggueſſes are a high-ſpirited people, and deſerve the character given of Malays in general by M. POIVRE, in his Travels of a Philoſopher: "fond of adventures, emigration, and capable of undertaking the moſt dangerous enterpriſes." The word Bugguеſs has become, amongſt Europeans in the eaſt of India, an expreſſion meaning the ſame as ſoldier, juſt as ſepoy is in the weſt. The people of *Celebes* are very induſtrious; they are alſo adventurous merchants; their prows go weſtward to *Bencoolen*, *Malacca*, and as far as *Acheen* and *Queda*, northward to *Manilla*, and ſouthward to *New Holland*, and the Buggueſſes often find their way to the Spice-iſlands, in ſpite of the vigilance of the Dutch. The Buggueſſes write their language from left to right, in a character peculiar to themſelves: on the ſeacoaſt they univerſally ſpeak the Malay tongue, and have many Malay phraſes in their language. The laws

Fort *Rotterdam*, which was built by the Macaſſers, with the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe, lies about eight hundred feet from the beach, oppoſite to the road, where a pierhead extends, which ſerves for unloading of the ſhips, and cloſe to which there is fifteen or ſixteen feet water.

The plan of this fort has been publiſhed in the *Lives of the Governors General of India*, and the ichnography of it remains exactly the ſame.

The church has been neatly rebuilt a few years ago, and has room for two hundred perſons. The ſeat of the governor is wholly gilt, and is under a canopy, oppoſite to the pulpit.

The walls of the fortreſs are high and ſtrong, and conſtructed of rockſtone. Without the landgate there is a large plain, on the north ſide of which is ſituated the negree, or village, called *Vlaardingen*, where moſt of the Europeans reſide. The ſtreets croſs each other at right angles, pointing to the

laws of the inhabitants of *Celebes* are adminſtered according to old cuſtoms, handed down from their anceſtors, and retained in the memory of their old men (*oran tuo*); though, in ſome parts, they are committed to writing: in dubious caſes they refer to the Koran, if applicable. *T.*

four

four cardinal points: moſt of them are broad, and formed of tolerably good-looking houſes. At the end of one of them, ſtands the orphan-houſe, which is a large, but very ruinous, building. The Chineſe all live together here, in one ſtreet, which is named after them. Though it is called the negree, or village, it rather deſerves the appellation of town. It is paliſadoed all round, and is, at night, cloſed by gates, where a watch is conſtantly kept.

Without the village of *Vlaardingen*, to the ſouth, there is a row of buildings, which bound it on that ſide, and where likewiſe the houſe of the governor ſtands at preſent. The Bougineſe and Malay campons are not far from it.

The campon *Baro*, where moſt of the natives, and ſome Europeans, live, is ſouth of the fort: there are likewiſe a few brick houſes in it.

Between it and the fort is the burying-ground, where every European of any conſideration has a ſeparate grave, with a tombſtone over it, ſtuccoed white, and inſcribed with the names of thoſe who lie buried there, or to whom the grave belongs.

The

The ſervices of religion were adminiſtered by a clergyman of the name of De Graaf, a moſt excellent man, and one of the beſt whom I met with in all India. He was an enemy to all diſſention; he ceaſed not, as long as any diſcord reigned between any of the members of the congregation, to which he was a faithful paſtor, before he had conciliated matters, and yet he was never found to intermeddle in affairs that did not become him. He was wholly free from that ſpiritual pride, which is obſervable in ſo many of the ſacerdotal order. In converſation he was friendly and amiable; never, dogmatical, and never inclined to condemn his fellow-mortals. In company he was both pleaſant and inſtructive; and nothing indecorous, or incompatible with purity of morals, was ever heard when he was preſent. In ſhort, he was a man who, as far as could be judged from his actions, ſought, in every reſpect, to follow the golden rule, of loving God and his neighbour. I have given a more ample ſketch of this worthy man's character, as it is very rare that ſuch miniſters of the goſpel are met with in India.

The office of governor is here a very intricate

tricate and important one. The concerns of the Company, which, in all their other ſettlements, except *Ternate*, are confined to the ſpeculations of commerce, are here of a very different nature. Conſidered ſuperficially, *Macaſſer* has been a prejudicial eſtabliſhment, as it is an annual charge upon the Company of ninety thouſand gilders; but if we conſider it more attentively, it is one of thoſe poſſeſſions which are of the greateſt importance to the Company, for the preſervation of their excluſive ſpice-trade. The ſituation of *Celebes*, in the proximity of the iſlands which produce thoſe invaluable articles, the power of the nations who inhabit it, and their bent towards navigation and commerce, early induced them to enter into this trade, even long before the arrival of the Europeans in theſe regions. They carried the ſpices they obtained to, the then emporiums, *Bantam* and *Malacca*, where they were fetched by other merchants from the weſt of India, and being conveyed by the Red Sea to *Alexandria*, or by caravans to *Aleppo*, they finally found their way to Europe.

Excluſive of the jealouſy which the Company

pany muſt naturally have entertained of theſe competitors in their ſpice-trade, a further motive for apprehenſion preſented itſelf in the attempts made by the Portugueſe, their hereditary enemies, to eſtabliſh themſelves here; by which the Dutch poſſeſſions in the *Moluccas*, and neighbouring iſlands, would continually run the riſk, upon the leaſt change of fortune, of being wreſted from them, or at leaſt kept in a conſtant ſtate of alarm and diſquiet.

This at laſt produced a determination in them, to remove the evil at once; in which they very happily ſucceeded, in the year 1667, under the conduct of Governor SPEELMAN, as general; when, among other advantages, Fort *Rotterdam* was ceded to them, which before bore the name of *Oedjongpandang*, corruptly called by us *Jan Pandan* *; but we muſt conſider that the war was then only waged againſt the Macaſſers, or the kingdom of *Goach*, and that the princes of *Boni*, *Soping*, &c. were at that

* Fort *Rotterdam* was ſo called from the birthplace of its conqueror, SPEELMAN; the Macaſſer name, *Oedjong Pandang*, implies the point of a ſacred leaf, and the ſpot is eſteemed holy by the natives. *T.*

time

time very insignificant, and had united themselves to the Company by the famous *Boni* contract, which was concluded on the 18th of November, 1667, and to which the Macassers were afterwards compelled equally to accede. Since that time the system of policy adopted by the Company has been to exalt *Boni*, and to humble *Goach*; and in later times this conduct became the source of many wars.

But in order to throw more light upon the affairs of *Macasser*, it is necessary to become acquainted with the principal kingdoms and states of *Celebes*, and to have a sketch of their history down to the present time. A manuscript on this subject has fallen into my hands, which Mr. Blok, formerly governor of *Macasser*, composed from authentic records, and continued down to his time, that is, till 1759: in order, however, not to repeat too much of what Valentyn may already have written, whose account of *Macasser* I have not by me, I shall only state the most prominent parts of the history of *Celebes* since the beginning of the present century.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Kingdom of MACASSER.—*Their ancient Traditions.—Sketch of their Hiſtory.—Oath of Fidelity to the Company taken by the Kings of* BONI *and of* GOACH.—*Conſtitution of* GOACH.—*Laws.—Religion.—Former Proſperity of the Macaſſers.—Kingdom of* TELLO.—*Of* SANDRABONY.

THE empire or kingdom of *Macaſſer*, which, before the conqueſt of it by the Dutch, was ſo cloſely united with thoſe of *Tello* and *Sandrabony*, that it made, as it were, but one ſtate, extended along the ſea-coaſt, from *Boeleboele*, in the bay of *Boni*, to the point of *Laſſem* (called *Laſſoa*, in our maps), and thence weſtward to the point of *Touratti*, or *Tanakeke*, and along the weſt coaſt, northward, to *Tanette*, or *Aganondje*, and reached inland as far as *Boni* and *Soping*, through the whole of which, the original language of the Macaſſers then prevailed.

The kings of *Goach* and *Tello* are both called

called kings of *Macaſſer*, although each is a ſeparate ſtates, taking their names from their reſpective capitals, *Goach* and *Tello*.

The ancient fabulous traditions of *Macaſſer*, according to a manuſcript, tranſlated out of their language, of which I had the peruſal, make mention of four kings, before the coming of TOEMANOERONG, which ſignifies, *one deſcended from heaven*.

It happened, as theſe traditions relate, at a certain time, after the death of theſe four kings, that a beautiful woman, adorned with a chain of gold, deſcended from heaven, and was acknowledged by the Macaſſers for their queen, under the aforeſaid denomination of TOEMANOERONG.

Upon hearing the report of the appearance upon earth of this celeſtial beauty, the king of *Bantam* went thither, and ſought her hand in marriage, though he had before wedded a princeſs of *Bontain*. His ſuit was granted, and a ſon was begotten in this marriage, of whom TOEMANOERONG was two or three years pregnant, ſo that the child could both walk and talk, immediately after he was born; but he was

very much distorted in shape. His name was TOEMA-SALINGABERIENG. When he was grown up, he broke the chain of gold, which his mother had brought with her from heaven, in two pieces, after which, she, together with her husband, and his brother, vanished in a moment, taking with her the one half of the chain, and leaving the other, and the empire, to her son. This chain, which the Macassers sometimes say is heavy, sometimes, light, at one time, dark coloured, and at another, bright, was ever afterwards one of the principal regalia of the kings of *Goach*, till in the revolution of CRAIN BONTALANGAS, it was lost, as I was informed, together with several other regal insignia.

The manuscript I alluded to, traces the origin of the princes of *Goach* from this son of TOEMANOERONG, who, together with his three successors, it is added, did not die, but vanished in the same manner as their parents; and the eighteenth king after him began his reign under the name of PADUCCA SIRI SULTAN SHAH BADIN ISMAEL.

Although this king did not long occupy the

the throne, he waged a furious war againſt the king of *Boni*, who was reinforced by the arms of the Company.

He was depoſed by the nine eſtates of the country of *Goach*, and they elected in his ſtead the king of *Tello*, who was called MAPPA ORANGIE, but as king of *Goach* he took the name of PADUCCA SIRI SULTAN SIRA JOUDEEN.

In the year 1718, the Macaſſer prince, and afterwards famous rebel, CARAING, or CRAIN BONTALANCAS, fled from *Goach*, having killed a daughter of the former king, and ſought an aſylum among the Dutch, living, under the Company's protection, in the campon *Baro*. He afterwards went from here to *Sumbawa*, and aſſiſted in the war which raged between the Sumbawers and Baliers, in which the king of the former was killed. He wedded the daughter of this prince, who was afterwards queen of *Sumbawa*, and whoſe mother, marrying with the king of *Goach*, perſuaded her daughter to be divorced from CRAIN BONTALANCAS, and to marry a prince of *Sumbawa*.

In the year 1724, the king, SIRA JOUDEEN,

gave up entirely to his ſon the kingdom of *Tello*, and taking upon himſelf the ſole adminiſtration of that of *Goach*, ſoon gave ſo much umbrage to the Macaſſer princes, and eſpecially to BONTALANCAS, that the latter, who was become both furious and deſperate, from his forcible ſeparation from his wife, formed a reſolution of taking ample revenge upon the king. In order to compaſs this purpoſe, he procured, not only ſeveral of the diſcontented Macaſſer princes, but likewiſe many Bougineſe of high rank, to take part in his conſpiracy; and he afterwards entered into the moſt ſolemn engagement with the famous pirate AROE SOENKANG, and his captain TOUASSA, to dethrone the kings of *Goach* and *Boni*, and wholly to expel the Dutch from *Celebes*.

Accordingly he kindled the flames of war, in the year 1734, in *Bontain*, whence they ſoon ſpread far and wide. In the beginning of the war, BONTALANCAS gained many advantages, and made ſo much impreſſion upon the king of *Goach*, that on the 5th of November, 1735, he fled from *Goach* to *Tello*; upon which the Macaſſer eſtates immediately elected his grandſon, ſurnamed

MALAWANGESE

MALAWANGESE ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER, twentieth king of *Goach*. But he likewiſe was forced to yield to the arms of the rebels, and abandon his capital, which was immediately taken poſſeſſion of by CRAIN BONTALANCAS; while the king, together with a conſiderable number of Macaſſers, fled as far as Fort *Rotterdam*, where, in the year 1739, he put himſelf under the protection of the Company.

CRAIN BONTALANCAS, being maſter of the country of *Wadjo*, and of part of the kingdom of *Boni*, came down, a ſhort time before, to the northern provinces of the Company, and cauſed himſelf to be inſtalled king of *Goach*.

Soon afterwards, he ſummoned Fort *Rotterdam*, in the name of the three united empires of *Boni*, *Goach*, and *Wadjo*. But the governor not being ſpeedy enough in his determination, the whole force of *Goach* and *Wadjo* ſoon appeared upon the plain before the fort. The garriſon, reinforced by a body of Bougineſe, who were attached to the Company, and by the Company's ſubjects, marched againſt the enemy the ſame day, being the 16th of May, 1739, and fall-

ing upon them with great fury, ſoon put them to flight, and throwing up a battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon, where a good number of them took poſt, they returned in triumph to the fort.

The enemy, on the other hand, intrenched themſelves againſt us, and daily ſkirmiſhes took place, till on the 14th of July, when the country being ſufficiently dry, that the artillery could be tranſported, the garriſon made another ſally, and being joined by their Bouginese allies, and other auxiliaries, together with the Company's ſubjects and the Macaſſer refugees beforementioned, they fell upon the enemy, early in the morning of the 17th of July, by ſurprize, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and a bloody battle, which laſted till four o'clock in the afternoon, they gained a complete victory.

This victory was of the greater importance, as by it the treacherous hopes of the Macaſſer refugees were fruſtrated; for though they had joined our troops, they were almoſt all inclined to the rebel party, and had concerted with their chief, that, as ſoon as the balance turned the leaſt in his favour,

favour, they would join him, and turn themſelves againſt us.

Three days after this, when the rebels again tried their chance, they were beat anew, and put to flight by our troops, leaving behind them many dead and wounded. CRAIN BONTALANCAS, who had thrown himſelf into *Goach* with all his troops, was himſelf wounded. Our men purſued them hotly, and at three o'clock in the afternoon, they came before the town, and immediately threw up ſome batteries, which were ready in the evening, and played with ſo much effect during the night, that at four o'clock the next morning our commander in chief, Admiral SMOUT, received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned the town, and had fled to the mountains; by which the war, on this ſide of *Celebes*, was put an end to. The regalia of *Goach* were immediately collected, and, together with the kingdom of *Macaſſer*, were reſtored to the monarch who had laſt fled from *Goach*, ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER, and to the regent of the empire.

Moſt of the adherents of CRAIN BONTALANCAS then came in, and ſubmiſſively en-

treated for pardon. Among them, was a man of upwards of a hundred years of age, CRAIN ALAMANPANG, a younger brother of CRAIN POMLIAAN, who had been a fugitive of the former century. On surrendering his kris, he spoke as follows:

"I have beheld this city of *Goach*, in its "proudeſt luſtre, when it ruled over the "whole iſland of *Celebes*; I afterwards was "a witneſs to its firſt humiliation, when "we were ſubdued by the Company; it was "then thought its fame and honour were "greatly tarniſhed, yet it was ſtill populous "and reſpected; but now I look around me, "and behold nought but ruins and diſho-"nour. I ſurrendered my kris, the firſt "time at *Samboepo*, once more at *Sourabaya*, "and now here, for the third time, to the "conquering arms of the Company; leave "to an old man now the only conſolation "that remains—to die in peace."

He received a free pardon, and his kris was reſtored to him.

A ſhort time afterwards, intelligence was received that CRAIN BONTALANCAS had died of his wounds.

King ABDUL HAERMAN SHOER dying

on

on the 27th of July, 1742, in the ſeventeenth year of his age, his brother, MAPPA BABASSA, a child of eight years old, was choſen ſucceſſor to the crown of *Goach*, under the guardianſhip of the regent, CRAIN MADJENNANG. Nothing material occurred during his reign. He died on the 21ſt of December, 1753, and was ſucceeded by his ſon AMAS MADINA, ſurnamed PATTEMA THARIE, who was the twenty-ſecond king of *Goach*, and in the year 1758, was renamed BATTARA GOACH, by the regent, who was, at the ſame time, his grandfather.

Thus far the manuſcript of Mr. BLOK. What follows, was related to me at *Macaſſer*.

After the death of his grandfather, the regency fell into the hands of the uncle of king BATTARA. This man, urged by the ambition of enjoying the crown himſelf, cauſed ſo much vexation to his nephew and ſovereign, that the latter abandoned his kingdom and *Celebes*, and fled to the weſtward, no one knew whither.

But the regent, ſeeing that matters were not yet ſufficiently ripe, nor the nobles of

Goach

Goach properly prepared to admit of his uſurping the crown himſelf, contrived that a younger brother of the king ſhould be exalted to the throne; whoſe life, however, he equally found means to embitter ſo much, that he alſo quitted his dignity and country in deſpair *. Upon this, the artful regent was conſecrated king, and he took upon himſelf, at the ſame time, the office of regent, or prime miniſter, in order to avoid another's playing the ſame part which he had acted before.

This prince was on the throne in the year 1775, when I was there. He was deſcribed to me as a very wiſe monarch, who diſtributed impartial juſtice to his ſubjects, and kept a watchful eye over all the foreign relations of his country; eſpecially over the kingdom of *Boni*, for which, in

* It was in the year 1767, that the king of *Goach*, thinking himſelf inſecure on his throne, abandoned his kingdom, and fled to *Bima*, where he was overtaken and ſent to *Batavia*. He was a weak and puſillanimous prince, and preferred a petition to the Dutch government that he might be exiled to *Ceylon*, where he lived for many years, in the caſtle of *Colombo*, receiving a monthly allowance of fifty rixdollars (about 130*l.* ſterling per annum) from the Company. *Huyſers beſchryving der Oost-Indiſche Etabliſſementen*, page 42. *T.*

common

common with all the other kings of *Goach*, he entertained the moſt inveterate hatred; for its preſent proſperity and power were founded upon the decline and ruin of *Macaſſer*. An equally deeprooted mutual hate exiſts at *Boni*, where they leave nothing untried, by means of their more ſtrict connections with the Company, to humble the power of *Macaſſer*, and render its fidelity ſuſpected.

An inſtance hereof occurred in the year 1770, upon the arrival of the preſent governor of *Macaſſer*, Mr. VAN DER VOORT. The king of *Boni*, having received information that a new governor was expected from *Batavia*, cauſed an intimation to be conveyed to the king of *Goach*, by a third or fourth hand, that one of the fugitive princes was coming over with the governor, who was to be reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, while the uſurper would be taken priſoner, and ſent into baniſhment. In order to effect the latter purpoſe, it was alleged, that the opportunity would be availed of, when the king of *Goach*, according to ancient cuſtom, came to renew the oath of fidelity to the Company,

Company, upon the acceſſion of a new governor *.

This prince, deceived hereby, came, at the appointed time, to Fort *Rotterdam*, not with his uſual ſuite, but accompanied by five or ſix thouſand well-armed men, and refuſed to enter the walls of the fortreſs without theſe troops, ſaying, at the ſame time, the reaſon why he came in this manner; but when the Company's ſervants

* The oath of fidelity, and alliance to the Company, is taken by the kings of *Goach* and of *Boni*, with the following ceremonies: The king, dreſſed in cloth of gold, and wearing the chain which the Company have preſented to him, in token of alliance, and every link of which repreſents a flower made of maſſy gold, with a medal pendant from it, with the initial letters of the united Eaſt-India Company engraved upon it, preſents himſelf with his courtiers and lifeguards at the government-houſe in Fort *Rotterdam*. His attendants firſt dance their war-dance, with their kriſſes and aſſagays. A chapter of the Koran, relating to the taking of oaths, is then read to the king, in Arabian, to which he liſtens with great attention and veneration. He then folds his hands, and lays them three times upon the book, and afterwards upon his head. Next he takes his kris of ſtate, and dipping the point of it in a ſilver horn of water, ſtirs it about with it, and lets a few drops which remain upon the point fall upon his tongue; by which the oath is completed, in the moſt ſolemn manner. *S.*

pointed

pointed out to him the groundleſſneſs of his ſuſpicions, and the evident falſity of his information, he was prevailed upon to lay aſide his diſtruſt, and every thing paſſed off without further difficulty; ſo that the king of *Boni* was diſappointed in his object. Yet the king was ſo fearful, and upon his guard, at the feaſt which the governor gave that day to the native princes, that neither he, nor his attendants, would touch any wine, nor any of the proviſions which were ſet before them.

I ſaw this prince twice; he is rather corpulent, grave in his appearance and converſation, and attentive and reſerved in his manners.

The king of *Goach* is not an abſolute ſovereign: he is ſubject to the laws of the land, and may not perform any important regal functions, without the concurrence and approbation of the body of nobility. Crimes are puniſhed according to laws, and not by the arbitrary will of the monarch. His privy counſellors are called *tomani lalangs*.

Every negree, or townſhip, has a chief, called

called *galarang*: this rank was inſtituted by the eighth king of *Goach*, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, perhaps at the inſtance of the Portugueſe, who firſt arrived at *Celebes*, and obtained a footing there during the reign of that king, in the year 1512.

His ſucceſſor appointed and regulated meaſures and weights for general uſe; he fixed prices upon the articles of trade; he manufactured gunpowder, and firſt mounted artillery upon the walls of *Goach*. He afterwards, not only allowed the Malays to ſettle in his ſtates, but, together with other privileges, he granted them that of building a temple, and openly profeſſing the Mahomedan faith. This religion gained ſo much ground here, that the Macaſſers, by means of the Malays, diſpatched an embaſſy to *Mecca*, to fetch a *ſtadja*, or prieſt, from that place, for the purpoſe of inſtructing them in the religion of the Arabian impoſter, which was at laſt univerſally eſtabliſhed throughout the Macaſſer empire, in the year 1603, under the thirteenth king, SULTAN ALLAH OUDEEN; and three years afterwards

afterwards they forced the people of *Boni* equally to ſubſcribe to the doctrines of the Koran.

The power of *Macaſſer* was at its higheſt pitch about the middle of the laſt century, when its princes not only ruled over almoſt the whole of *Celebes*, but had likewiſe rendered *Loma*, *Mandelly*, *Bima*, *Tambora*, *Dompo*, and *Sangar*, tributary to them, and had conquered *Bouton*, *Bungay*, *Gapi*, the *Xulla* iſlands, and *Sumbawa*. They moreover held the government of *Saleyer*, which had been given to *Macaſſer*, by BAAB ULLACH, king of *Ternate*; they were in ſtrict alliance with the inhabitants of *Bali*, and coined the firſt gold coins, which were probably the gold *mas*, of the value of ſixty Dutch ſtivers.

About that time alſo, the alliance between *Goach* and *Tello* was renewed; and theſe two ſtates were ſo firmly united together, that it was a common ſaying, that there were "two lords, but one people." By the articles of union, it was ſettled, that all levies and contributions from conquered provinces, &c. ſhould be divided into five parts, two of which were to be given to *Goach*,

Goach, and two to *Tello*, while the fifth ſhould fall to the ſhare of the eldeſt of the two kings; that the eldeſt of the kings ſhould always exerciſe the office of regent, or prime miniſter, to his junior colleague; that they ſhould both be equal in dignity; and, laſtly, that they ſhould both enjoy the title of *ſambanco*, ſignifying as much as emperor.

The empire of *Macaſſer* has at preſent ſo much declined, under the influence of the powerful arms, and the artful policy, of the Company, that the king of *Boni* is now much ſuperior to *Goach*, both in extent of territory, and number of ſubjects; although in war a Macaſſer is better than three Bougineſe, on account of their martial character, and undaunted courage, which notwithſtanding all the adverſities which have fallen upon them, for a century paſt, have never been ſubdued, or diminiſhed *.

It

* In 1778, a finiſhing ſtroke was given to the independence, and power of reſiſtance, of *Goach*; the reins of government were, at that time, on account of the nonage of the king, in the hands of his mother, queen RADJA POLAKKA, a woman of an ambitious and intriguing diſpoſition, who, pro-

It is worthy of remark, that the kings of *Macaſſer* have a new name given to them after their death, and that their ſucceſſor muſt be nominated before their interment.

The kingdom of *Tello* was bounded, in the year 1667, to the north, by the *Coerees*, two iſlands, ſituated a little to the ſouthward of the river *Maros*, and to the ſouth it reached as far as Fort *Rotterdam*. The intimate connection between this kingdom and that of *Goach*, has before been mentioned; and both have, in conſequence, participated in the ſame changes of fortune.

The ninth king of *Tello*, ABDAL CARIE, died in January, 1709, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, MAPPA ORANGIE, who was elected king of *Goach* in the year 1712, and ruled over both kingdoms till the year 1724, when he gave up that of *Tello*, to his

probably aiming at the total emancipation of her country from the yoke of the Company, raiſed a rebellion againſt it, in which her forces were ſubdued, the city of *Goach* taken by aſſault, its fortifications razed, and the government new modelled, ſo as to be entirely conformable to the views of the conquerors. T.

ſon, MAN RADJA, or RADJA MOUDEN. To him ſucceeded, according to the records of the Company, but in what year is not mentioned, his brother, MAPPA ENGA, or JAPPEE OEDEN; this prince, known by the name of CRAIN TELLO, was the grandfather, and regent, of the king of *Goach*, in the year 1759, and an inveterate enemy of the Company. After his death, his daughter, the preſent reigning queen, ſucceeded to the crown.

The kingdom of *Sandrabeni*, lying within the bounds of *Macaſſer*, on the weſtern coaſt of *Celebes*, between the Company's lands at *Galiſſong* and *Poelonbanheen*, is ſmall in extent, yet independant of *Goach*. In the time of TOENA PARIE, king of *Macaſſer*, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the queen of *Sandrabeni* entered in an alliance with the Macaſſers, its liberties and immunities remaining, however, unimpared; and ſince that time, it has, as well as *Tello*, been ſubjected to the ſame fortunes as *Goach*.

MAPPA DOELANG, afterwards king of *Goach*, ruled over this ſmall ſtate, at the time of the war conducted by General SPEELMAN,

SPEELMAN, and, together with his nobles, accepted and ſwore to the engagements with the Company, in 1667 and 1669. The kings of *Sandraboni* are moſtly related to the royal family of *Goach*.

The city ſtands a little inland, on the banks of a river, whence the kingdom derives its name. It was built about the ſame period as *Samboupo* and *Tello*. This is all that I learnt reſpecting it.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Kingdom of BONI.—*Sketch of its Hiſtory.*—*Their firſt Kings.*—*Origin of their Enmity to* GOACH.—*Singular Revolutions under Queen* BATTARA TODJA.—*Piracies of* AROE SEENKANG.—*War with* WADJO.—ARONE TANETE, *a Cannibal*—*Method of accuſing and puniſhing Criminals.*—*Story of a Duel between two Princes, Grandſons of the reigning King.*—*Cruelty of the King towards the Object of their Diſagreement.*

AT the time of the Boni contract, that kingdom extended along the weſtern ſhore of the gulph, which is ſtill called the Bay of *Boni* *, from the river *Chinrana* to the river *Salenico*,

* Called *Sewa* by the natives, and *Bugueſs*, or *Long*-Bay, by the Engliſh. The following account of it, given by Captain FORREST, from the information of a Bugueſs *noquedah*, or ſea-captain, may not be unacceptable: "Having "paſſed the ſtrait between *Celebes* and *Saleyer*, called the "*Budgeroons*, keep on in a direction N.E. by N. about 130 "miles, and you will find, near the weſt coaſt of the *Sewa*, "a ſmall iſland called *Baloonroo*: it is viſible eight or ten leagues

Salenico, a length of about twenty leagues; inland it bordered upon *Soping*, *Lamoere*, *Macaſſer*, and *Boeleboele*. This kingdom was independent of, and unconnected with, any other, in very ancient times. Their

" leagues off, and has ſome rocky iſlets at its eaſt end. Far-
" ther on, about a day's ſail, which I fix at ſixty miles, is
" the mouth of the river *Chinrana*: this river takes its riſe
" in the *Warjoo* country, the capital of which is called
" *Toſſoro*, and lies a day's journey by water from the mouth
" of the river; it afterwards paſſes through *Boni*: it has a
" good muddy bar, paſſable by large ſhips, and is navigable
" a good way up; it has ſeveral mouths, and there are many
" towns on its banks, where a great trade is carried on in
" gold, rice, ſago, caſſia, tortoiſe-ſhell, pearls, &c.: the an-
" chorage is good off the river's mouth. Half a day's ſail
" farther north, along the weſt coaſt of the *Sewa*, is the river
" *Peeneekee*, not very conſiderable. Farther on are two places
" called *Akolingan* and *Telludopin*, which are pretty well in-
" habited. Continuing ſtill north, you come to the river
" *Sewa*, not very conſiderable; then to the river *Loo*, fa-
" mous for boat-building: then you come to *Mankakoo*,
" where there is gold, and much ſago, very cheap; they have
" alſo caſſia and ſeed-pearl. Being now come to the bottom
" of *Buggeſs*-Bay, the ſago-tree abounds very much; and in
" many parts of the *Sewa*, there are ſpots of foul ground, on
" which they fiſh for ſwallow, which they generally carry to
" *Macaſſer*, to ſell to the china junk. On the eaſt ſide of
" the *Sewa*, the country is not ſo well inhabited, as on the
" weſt ſide. The ſoutheaſt point of the *Sewa* is called *Pa-*
" *jungan*: here is a cluſter of iſlands, rather ſmall, with good
" anchorage amongſt them." *T.*

traditions affirm that their firſt king likewiſe deſcended from heaven. When he came upon earth, he had no name, but was afterwards called MATTA SALOMPO, by the people, ſignifying as much as *all-ſeeing*. He married a princeſs of *Toro*, who was equally of celeſtial origin; he had by her one ſon and five daughters, from whom all the ſucceeding kings of *Boni* are deſcended, and of whoſe poſterity, born from marriages with royal princeſſes, ſuch only being, in every reſpect, entitled to the crown, acccording to Mr. BLOK's account, no other remained alive, in 1759, than AROE PALAKKA, the grandmother of the then reigning king of *Goach*. She was ſtill living when I was at *Macaſſer* in 1775, and governed as queen of *Tannetta*.

This, their firſt monarch, inſtituted the laws of the country, which are ſtill obſerved; he made the royal ſtandard, called *Worong Porong*; and appointed ſeven electors, under the denomination of *matoua petoes*. Theſe are hereditary in ſeven families, though it has ſometimes happened that two, and even three of them, have been of the ſame lineage. This high office deſcends

deſcends upon women, as well as upon men. All matters of importance, relating to the kingdom, muſt be determined by them; their power, in particular, extends over the election and depoſition of the kings, and the making of peace and war *.

King MATTA SALOMPO, ſay the natives, after having reigned forty years over them, aſcended into heaven with his queen.

The Bougineſe, and Queen TARRE TOEPPOE, who then ruled over them, were compelled, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, to conform to the Mahomedan religion, and the condition was, moreover, impoſed upon them, that the enemies of *Macaſſer* ſhould likewiſe be the enemies of *Boni*, but not the enemies of *Boni* thoſe of *Macaſſer*.

* According to FOREST, *Boni* is governed by a prince, who is called *pajong*. He is elected for life by ſeven nobles, a fixed number, which may be kept up by the *pajong* (but not encreaſed), from the *dyons* (certain freeholders). The *pajong* is often reſtrained by a ſort of parliament, elected by the freeholders: it conſiſts of 400 members, 200 of which are called *mattoua*, 100 are called *pabicharre*, and 100 are called *galarang*. "But of this," he adds, "I never learnt a "diſtinct account; and I mention it only as a hint for future "travellers," *T*.

This was the firſt blow which was given to the greatneſs of *Boni*, although they were able to bring ſeventy thouſand fighting men into the field.

The hatred which, by this means, was excited among the Bougineſe, againſt the Macaſſers, was greatly inſtrumental to the ſucceſs of the arms of the Company againſt *Macaſſer*. RADJA PALACCA, a Bougineſe prince, whoſe exertions in particular contributed much to the completion of the conqueſt of *Macaſſer*, was afterwards choſen king of *Boni*, by the electors, and rendered himſelf ſo famous and powerful, extending the bounds of his kingdom in every way, that he was called by his people TOENER SOMBAYA, ſignifying, *a king before whom all others muſt humble themſelves*.

He died on the 6th of April, 1696, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, LAPATOUA, as fifteenth king of *Boni*, who, after having been the cauſe of much uneaſineſs to the Company, died in the year 1713.

His daughter, BATTARA TODJA, likewiſe called AROE TOEMOERANG, ſucceeded him, as the ſixteenth ſovereign of *Boni*. After reigning

reigning a ſhort time, ſhe reſigned the government, in the year 1715, into the hands of her half-brother, LAPADANY SADJATI, ſurnamed TOAPANNARA AROE PALACCA; but his ill treatment of his ſiſter and her huſband, whom he cauſed to be *rampaſſed*, or beaten with ſticks, and whom he threw into confinement at *Boni*, without any ſhadow of reaſon, or legal pretence, was ſo much diſapproved of, and reſented by the nobles, that ſhortly afterwards, on the 20th of January, 1720, he was not only depoſed, but, together with his wife, was thrown into priſon. After this, the Bougineſe again gave the kingdom to BATTARA TODJA, who, however, directly reſigned it anew, to her eldeſt half-brother, the dethroned king of *Goach*, SAPPUALEE, then ſurnamed MADANRANG; he, likewiſe, was depoſed in the year 1724, after a ſhort and turbulent reign, on account of his diſſolute conduct, and his youngeſt brother, TOPAWANOI, or AROE MANO, afterwards called CRAIN BESSEI, was choſen in his ſtead; on the fourth day after his appointment he was alſo ſet aſide, and in his room BATTARA TODJA was choſen queen for the third time; ſhe became

became at the ſame time *datoua*, or queen of *Loehoe*, and not long afterwards queen of *Soping* alſo; her huſband was appointed co-regent with her, of the kingdom; he died in the year 1725, after which ſhe was married, for the fourth time, to AROE KAVOE, who was, ſhortly after his nuptials equally made co-regent of the kingdom. But the queen being at variance with her brothers, one of whom ſhe had cauſed to be killed, and being diſſatisfied with Mr. GOUDIUS, at that time the Company's governor at *Macaſſer*, went away to *Soping*, where ſhe cauſed herſelf to be inaugurated as queen.

Her huſband, the regent, AROE KAVOE, now thinking himſelf king of *Boni*, reſolved to ſupplant his queen and conſort, and to take again to his bed his firſt beloved wife, CRAIN BONTO MAJENE, whom he had repudiated in order to marry the queen; but when this deſign was diſcovered, in the year 1728, he was immediately declared unworthy of the regentſhip, and his life was ſo much endangered, that he was obliged to fly by night to *Tello*, where he received protection. He afterwards became

connected

connected with CRAIN BONTALANCAS, and loſt his life in the commotions excited by that famous rebel.

In the year 1730, the three remaining brothers of the queen of *Boni*, came from *Bouton*, whither they had fled, for fear of their ſiſter, and took refuge under the protection of the Company, who allowed them to reſide in the campon *Baro*.

The queen, in the mean time, continued diſcontented with the Company, becauſe the province of *Bontain* was withheld from her; while her *madanrang*, or general in chief, and her *tomarilalangs*, or privy counſellors, conducted every thing at *Boni* according to their own wiſhes, and adhering to the enemies of the Company who aroſe about this time, AROE SEENKANG, and his followers, and the rebel, CRAIN BONTALANCAS, they prepared the way for the ruin of the kingdom of *Boni*, which was effected in the following manner:

AROE SEENKANG, a diſcontented Wadjoreſe prince, had, for ſome time, together with his captain, *laut*, or admiral, *touſſia*, been committing piracies; he had taken

Paſſir

Paſſir and *Coety*, and had even attacked the veſſels of the Company.

Theſe freebooters, therefore, in the years 1735 and 1736, carrying their depredations to a great exceſs, in the neighbourhood of *Mandhar* and *Cajelie*, were encountered by the cruiſing veſſels of the Company, but to no purpoſe; and, in the beginning of the year 1736, they landed in ſight of Fort *Rotterdam*, on the adjacent iſlands, belonging to the Company, where they plundered the inhabitants, and burnt their houſes. Upon this our government equipped ſome veſſels at *Macaſſer*, who attacked the enemy, but the battle was ſtopped by the evening coming on; and in the night, the enemy having effected their purpoſes, cunningly gave us the ſlip, and got away to *Wadjo*, without having ſuffered any material damage.

The Wadjoreſe, notwithſtanding the earneſt repreſentations of the Company's ſervants, obſtinately refuſed to deliver up AROE SBENKANG; and the Bougineſe, in conſequence, declared war againſt them. But it was proſecuted with very little vigour; for

for the general, and the counſellors of *Boni*, as we have before ſeen, were in colluſion with the enemy; whence this war had an unfortunate iſſue.

The queen of *Boni* perceiving the treachery, though too late, ſent for the princes, her brothers, who had left *Bouton*, and were gone over to the Company, and gave the command of the army to the eldeſt; but matters had already taken ſo bad a turn, that there was ſcarcely any poſſibility of retrieving them, ſo that they were compelled to make peace with *Wadjo*.

A little before, our people, at the requeſt of the Soping nobles, had let AROE TANETE, ſurnamed *the Mad Duke* *, go to *Soping*, to defend that country againſt the Wadjoreſe; but he, attending little to the war with *Wadjo*, procured, by his intrigues, the Sopingers to depoſe their queen, and eleſt him for their *datoua*, or king, in her

* Of this AROE TANETE it was related, that, like the ancient inhabitants of *Celebes*, he was a cannibal, and remarkably fond of human fleſh, ſo that he even uſed to fatten his priſoners, and cutting their heart out alive, he eat it raw, with pepper and ſalt, eſteeming it the moſt delicious morſel of all. *S.*

ſtead:

ſtead; after which he likewiſe contrived to have himſelf choſen king by the Bougineſe, of which election they gave communication to the Company's ſervants at Fort *Rotterdam*; but it met with their marked diſapprobation; and when the queen herſelf came forward, he was obliged to give way to her by flight.

Upon this, the Wadjoreſe made themſelves maſters of *Boni*, appointed another queen, acknowledged the rebel CRAIN BONTALANÇAS for king of *Goach*, and declared themſelves, in this manner, as three united countries, and enemies of the Company.

In the month of April, 1739, they came down, took poſſeſſion of *Goach*, and ſummoned Fort *Rotterdam* to ſurrender. What happened afterwards, I have before related, in the account I have given of *Goach*.

When the Company were ſaved by the fortune of arms, the next ſtep to be taken was to relieve *Boni*; but this, for ſome unknown reaſon, was only done by halves; for when the Wadjoreſe were twice beaten, they were not purſued as far as their capital, *Toffora*; and thoſe people, who refuſed to renew their engagements with the Company,

were

were suffered to do as they liked, while the disputes with *Wadjo*, as well on the part of the Company, as on the part of *Boni*, remain unsettled to the present day. [Written in the year 1759.]

In the mean time, in order, as was pretended, to forward the restoration of the public tranquillity, the queen of *Boni* was prevented from prosecuting her just claim against ARON TANETE, or the *Mad Duke*; and, to her further chagrin, the grant of *Bontain*, which province had been given to that princess, in the same manner as to her predecessors, as a reward for past services, by the Dutch government at *Batavia*, was annulled.

She died in the year 1749, and her half-brother, LAMA OSSONG, was chosen successor to the crown of *Boni*, under the name of ABDUL ZADSHAB DJALALOEDEEN, who was the reigning king when I was at *Celebes*, in 1775. He was then a man of upwards of eighty years old, and he dwelt in the Bougineſe campon, which is not far from our town of *Vlaardingen*, and, like most of the native villages, is a place of little consideration.

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He did not ſhew much eſteem for the Europeans; he governed his ſubjects in an arbitrary manner, with much ſeverity, and paid very little regard to the laws of the country, which he always explained according to his will.

All criminals are accuſed before the king, who commiſſions his prime miniſter, and one or two more of the nobles, to examine into the affair. As ſoon as a report is made concerning it, if the culprit be thought worthy of death, the king gives a ſign with his eyes, and he is immediately carried out and killed with a kris. If aggravating circſtances occur, the king gives directions for a more ſevere puniſhment; the criminal is then bound to a tree, and he is pricked full of ſkin-deep wounds with kriſſes, and rubbed with ſugar or molaſſes; the whole body is ſoon entirely covered with ants, and the poor wretch is not relieved by death, before he has ſuffered the greateſt torments. But one of the grandees of the kingdom, or a man of noble birth, is never otherwiſe put to death for any crime than by the more merciful method of plunging a kris into his boſom.

Mr.

Mr. VAN PLEUREN related to me the following inſtance of the cruel character of this monarch, which had occurred about two years before.

Two princes, grandſons of the king, became both enamoured of the ſame perſon, a young princeſs, who was ſcarcely more than twelve years old; ſhe was an exquiſite beauty, poſſeſſed of every accompliſhment that an education at the court of an eaſtern monarch could procure her. Both the lovers, notwithſtanding their earneſt ſolicitations that ſhe would make choice of one who ſhould be the favoured youth, could not prevail upon her, for a long time, to decide between them; overcome, however, at length, by the vehemence of their entreaties, ſhe at laſt declared in favour of the youngeſt. This, as might be ſuppoſed, occaſioned an implacable enmity between the two princes, which was carried to ſuch a height, that they drew their kriſſes againſt each other, in a ſolitary place, with ſuch fury, that, had they not been fortunately ſeparated by ſome people who came in time to prevent a fatal cataſtrophe, they would

probably have both fallen victims to their jealouſy and love.

As ſoon as this occurrence came to the ears of the king, he ſent for both princes, and reproached them with great aſperity, that they were near depriving him of two of his children, by their raſh and fooliſh conduct, which was the more unpardonable, being merely for the ſake of a woman. He then commanded them immediately to diſmiſs their animoſity, and to live thenceforward together with their accuſtomed fraternal affection.

Thus far all was right. He next ſent for the young princeſs, and ſternly aſked her, how ſhe dared to avow a choice between two of his grandſons? The poor girl, trembling and in tears, could make no other reply, than that ſhe had not done ſo before ſhe was abſolutely compelled to it, and was afraid of fatal conſequences, if ſhe had remained obſtinate in her refuſal.

This diſculpation was of no avail to ſoften the indignation of the king; he knew, he ſaid, a way to preſerve his children, both from ſuch debaſing love, and from the dangerous

gerous conſequences of it, and that it would be an unheard-of event that one of his ſons ſhould loſe his life for the ſake of a boyiſh attachment. He then gave the wonted ſign of death, and the wretched object of the violent love, and furious hatred, of the two princes, was carried out, and pierced to the heart, without there being any one found who durſt pretend to be her advocate, or that her youth and beauty made the leaſt impreſſion upon the obdurate heart of the cruel monarch.

CHAPTER X.

Account of the Kingdom of SOPING.—*Sketch of its Hiſtory.*—LOEHOE.—*Its Productions.*—*Diſſolute Conduct of the preſent Queen.*—TANETE.—*Its Hiſtory.*—*The Country of* MANDHAR.—*Its Government.*—*Hiſtory.*—TOADJA, *or* WADJO.—*Its ſingular Conſtitution.*

THE kingdom of *Soping* was anciently one of the moſt powerful ſtates of *Celebes*; it lies partly along the weſtern ſhore of the bay of *Boni*; to the north, it is bounded by the great lake, called *Tamparang Laba*; and to the ſouth, it borders upon *Lamoeroe*, which, together with ſeveral other ſmall ſtates, formerly belonged to it, but which afterwards became either independent or united to *Boni*.

It yields nothing but *paddee*. In the year 1661, after the flight of RADJA PALACCA, it became a fief of *Macaſſer*; but, in the year 1667, it was reſtored to its liberty by the Company.

The kings of *Soping* have been allied by marriages

marriages to thoſe of *Boni* from time immemorial. The Sopingers pretend, in the ſame manner as thoſe of *Macaſſer* and *Boni*, that their firſt king equally deſcended from heaven. After him, a ſeries of ſovereigns, as well kings as queens, ruled over them, of whom the preſent reigning king of *Boni* is the twenty-ſecond, who, with the conſent of the nobles of *Soping*, governed the kingdom by means of a viceroy; at preſent, however, namely, in 1775, it is again under its own king, who married the daughter of the king of *Boni*. He is a faithful ally of the Company, and follows in all things the advice of the governor of *Macaſſer*, although by the bravery of his people, for one Sopinger is better in war than three Bougineſe, he could do much more than the king of *Boni*. His ſon is educated at the court of his maternal grandfather.

The part which this kingdom took in the troubles, at the time of CRAIN BONTALANCAS and AROE TANETE, has before been mentioned.

The kingdom of *Loehoe*, or *Loehoe*, was the moſt powerful and moſt extenſive of all

the ſtates of *Celebes*, before thoſe of *Macaſſer* and *Boni* attained their ſubſequent celebrity. It ſtretches at preſent from *Pelopa*, the capital of the country, to *Larompo*, being an extent of about twenty leagues along the weſtern ſhore of the bay of *Boni*, and from the other ſide of the city, over the whole of the ſoutheaſtern part of *Celebes*, between *Bugueſs*-Bay and the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, as far as the Alforeſe will ſuffer them inland; to the weſt, it is bounded by *Wadjo*, and to the north, by *Toradja*.

The land is fertile in *paddee*; it yields likewiſe good iron, and much gold is found in the rivers *.

Mr. BLOK had not obtained any information reſpecting their ancient hiſtory or kings. The firſt king of whom mention is made in the records of the Company, is called CRAIN HAROO; he was ſubdued by the arms of the Company, at the ſame time with the Macaſſers at *Bouton*.

The queen who ruled over the country,

* The gold of *Celebes* is generally got, as on *Sumatra*, from the beds of rivers and torrents, and there are many ſprings iſſuing from crevices of rocks, that bring ſome gold along with the water, which running through a veſſel, bottomed with ſand, leaves its treaſure behind. *T.*

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when the account of Mr. BLOK was written was called TANRALELE, and ſometimes ASHA; ſhe was, at the ſame time, queen of *Tanete*; but ſhe was afterwards deprived of the crown, by the machinations of the king of *Boni*, on account of her alleged diſſolute life; for, notwithſtanding ſhe was already very far advanced in years, ſhe had the fineſt men daily brought to her, for the ſatisfaction of her ſhameful licentiouſneſs; while, if ſhe met with any one, whom ſhe did not approve, ſhe had him immediately killed and thrown into the river: a grandſon of the king of *Boni* was appointed king in her ſtead.

This kingdom is likewiſe in alliance with the Company, and conſequently dependent upon them.

The kingdom of *Tanete*, or *Aga Nonſha*, ſignifying a bridge, or ford, lies halfway between Fort *Rotterdam* and the bay of *Sorian*. It is bounded to the eaſt, by the principality of *Mariovi-wavo*; to the north, by *Barroe*; to the ſouth, by *Sageree*; and to the weſt, by the ſea. It ſtood, in former times, on friendly terms with *Macaſſer*; afterwards, upon a war breaking out be-

tween them, although *Tanete* was conquered, it was ſtill reputed independent and a free ally of *Macaſſer*; but when the king gradually began to extend his power over this country, it was, and juſtly, looked upon as a ſtate dependent upon that of *Macaſſer*, as it is called in the reports of the conference of Macaſſer, on the 7th of September, 1668.

At the time of Mr. SPEELMAN, one king IBRAHIM reigned here; who, during the peace of *Bonaye*, joined the Company, and was received as one of their allies, after having entered into and ſworn to the engagements dictated at that time by the Company, to which his ſucceſſors have ever ſince adhered.

The preſent queen TANRALELE, upon her being made queen of *Loehoe*, and going thither, gave up the government of *Tanete* to the king of *Boni*, and to the Company; but having, ſome years afterwards, been driven from the throne of *Loehoe*, ſhe came back, and reſumed the adminiſtration of her own ſtate.

The country of *Mandhar* borders upon the ſea, to the weſt; upon *Cajelie*, to the north; upon

upon *Bionangis*, to the ſouth; and to the eaſt, upon a tract of deſert mountains, which afford a ſecure refuge to the inhabitants, when they are attacked by too powerful enemies; they then abandon to them their deſerted villages on the ſeacoaſt, and do not return to their habitations till they have been left by the invaders.

The government of this country was veſted, in former times, in ten nobles, or eſtates, who had all entered into engagements with the Company; three of them voluntarily; the ſeven others are commonly called *princes of the ſeven rivers*. They formerly were ſubject to the Macaſſers, and, in token of allegiance, were obliged to ſend a yearly tribute of long ſhields; they even were forced to receive a governor from *Macaſſer*, whom they, however, rejected, in the year 1658, though they remained otherwiſe faithful to that country.

By the contract of *Boni*, the Macaſſers reſigned all claim to the dominion over *Mandhar*; after which their princes, or eſtates, were ſeveral times ſummoned to enter into treaty with the Company; but they all, except one, obſtinately refuſed to

do

do it. On this account, they were made war againſt by the Company, and by the Bougineſe, but were never ſubdued, as they always fled to the mountains; but, in the year 1674, fearing that they ſhould be attacked by RADJA PALAKKA, they humbled themſelves before the Company, and ſigned and ſwore to the engagements required. Yet they never much obſerved them, eſpecially not thoſe articles which bind them not to navigate any veſſels without paſſes from the Company, and which forbid them to admit any veſſels into their harbours which are not provided with ſuch paſſes. Nevertheleſs they are deſerving of praiſe and eſteem for the reſpect which they otherwiſe pay to the Company and to *Boni*, and for the readineſs which they ſhewed in aſſiſting the Company in the laſt war.

Toadja, as pronounced by the Macaſſers, or *Wadjo*, as pronounced by the Bougineſe, is ſituated north of the river *Chinnanſe Boni*, which divides this country from that of *Boni*, extending to *Panekee*, which, though a free ſtate, is eſteemed a dependency of *Wadjo*, and which reaches to *Cotenga*. Behind *Panekee* and *Kera*, *Wadjo* ſtretches northwards

wards to *Larompo*, or *Loehoe*. To the weſt it touches upon the borders of *Adja Tamparang*, or *Sedeenring*.

It is governed by forty princes, or regents, amongſt whom women are admitted equally with men. Theſe nobles are all obliged to remain in *Wadjo*; yet, when requiſite, they are allowed to go, for a ſhort time, to their lands, in order to effect what may be neceſſary, but as ſoon as this is done, they muſt immediately return to *Wadjo*.

The forty are divided into three diſtinct bodies, or eſtates, each of which has a chief banner, or flag, to which they belong. Out of each of theſe three, again, two chiefs are choſen, one for warlike affairs, who is ſtyled *patara*, and the other for the civil adminiſtration of the government, ſtyled *padenrang*, who have for their preſident the *mattoua*, or elected king, who belongs to neither of the three eſtates, and conſtitutes the fortieth prince, ſo that each diviſion conſiſts of thirteen members.

Theſe laſt ſeven chiefs, to which high authority no woman is admiſſible, form an aſſembly, in whom the chief government in every thing is veſted, in the name of the forty

forty nobles of *Wadjo*, except in the point of making war or peace, for which the grand council of the forty are aſſembled, in whoſe deliberations the *mattoua* has, if neceſſary, a double or caſting vote *.

Upon the deceaſe of this eminent chief, the three eſtates, or the thirty-nine nobles

* Though our Dutch traveller had undoubtedly the beſt opportunities for becoming acquainted with the ſeveral republican, or rather feudal, conſtitutions which appear to prevail in the petty ſtates of *Celebes*, it may not be unpleaſing to compare his account with that of Captain FORREST, who navigated in the eaſtern parts of India, at different times, from 1763 to 1776, and whoſe information on this ſubject was obtained from the Indians. "*Warjoo*, or *Tuadjoo*," he ſays, "is governed by an elective prince, called *aramatoop*. He is "elected for life by the four nobles of the higheſt rank, "called *oran cayo batta bazar* (nobles of the great flag), from "the body of an inferior nobility, called *oran cayo batta* "*ampat pulo* (nobles of the forty flags, there being forty in "number). When elected, if he ſhould ſay, 'I am poor,' "which may be the caſe, the reply made to him, by the "nobleman who preſides at the election, is, *Warjoo berennee*, "*Warjoo cois*, *Warjoo guaſſe*, which ſignifies, *Warjoo* is brave, "rich, and powerful; intimating, no doubt, that he ſhall "want for nothing. He then accepts of the government. "Beſides the four high, and the forty inferior, nobles, there "is ſtill a kind of freeholders, called *Ayons*, as in *Bani*. The "*aramatoo* can only keep up the number of the four high "and forty inferior nobility, when they are, by want of heirs, "extinct; but he cannot increaſe the number. In *Warjoo*, "the nobility is hereditary." *Account of Celebes*, added to *Forreſt's Voyage to the Mergui Archipelago*, page 75.

as

as they are then reduced to, are equally aſſembled, who elect one of their own body to ſucceed to his dignity, without paying any particular attention to his family: but ſuch regentſhips of the forty, as happen to be vacant, are filled up from the neareſt relations of the deceaſed king, provided they are not born of a bondſwoman.

Theſe people had their ſhare in the general oppreſſion which was the conſequence of the extenſion of the power of *Macaſſer*, but they redeemed their freedom, by the payment of one hundred *cattis*, being one hundred and twenty-five pounds of gold.

They live very peaceably among themſelves, and follow their commercial purſuits with much activity. They are the greateſt merchants of *Celebes*, and at preſent, alſo, the richeſt and moſt redoubted nation of the iſland. They pay no regard to any engagements either with the Company, or with *Boni*, alleging that they have been cancelled by the laſt war; ſince, after that time, *Wadjo* has encreaſed in power, in proportion as the conſideration of *Boni* has declined.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XI.

Account of the Kingdom of TOURATTEA.—*The Country of* LINQUES.—TOURADJA.—*The People called Boadjoos.*—*The Kings of* EREKA *and* LETHA.—*The Country of* CAJELIE.—*Its Productions.*—TOERONGAN.—*Its Dependencies.*—BOELE-BOELE.—*The Iſland* BOUTON.—*Various petty States upon the Iſland* SUMBAWA.—PASSIR *and* COETI, *in* BORNEO.

TOURATTEA extends from the river *Tjeeko*, along the ſea-coaſt, to the ſouth and eaſt, to the river *Tino*, the eaſtern bank of which belongs to *Bontain*; it is bounded on the north, by *Macaſſer*, and on the weſt and ſouth, by the ſea.

In ancient times it was inhabited by a free people, living under ſeveral independent princes; the chief of whom were thoſe of *Binano* and *Bankale*. The country of *Linques* lies between the two laſt named ſtates, not far from the bay of *Tourattea*. By the contract of *Boni*, their independence was allowed by the Company, although the king

king of *Boni* looks upon them as his ſubjects, without admitting them to be equally allies of the Company.

Touradja is a large country, lying inland, bordering to the north, upon the Alforeſe mountains, which ſeparate it from the bay of *Tominee*; to the eaſt, upon *Loehoe* and *Wadjo*; to the ſouth, upon *Sedeenring*, and to the weſt, upon the Mandhareſe mountains.

A large proportion of the Touradjeſe are mountaineers, and idolaters. Another part live upon the water, and their veſſels are continually roving round *Celebes*, the iſland of *Ende* and *Sumbawa*. Theſe ſubſiſt by fiſhing, by the preparing of *tripangs* *, and by catching of tortoiſes for the ſhells; they are likewiſe called *Boadjoos*, and are eſteemed ſlaves of *Boni*, or of *Goach* †.

The

* The ſame with ſwallow, or ſea-ſlug, mentioned in the following note. *T.*

† The Boadjoo people, who are likewiſe called *oran laut*, or men of the ſea, are a kind of itinerant fiſhermen, ſaid to come originally from *Johore*, at the eaſt entrance of the Straits of *Malacca*, though ſome are of opinion that they muſt have come either from *China*, or *Japan*. They live chiefly in ſmall covered boats, on the coaſts of *Borneo*, *Celebes*, and the adjacent

The kings of *Ereka* and *Letha*, two ſmall diſtricts, in the weſtern part of *Touradja*, are alſo in alliance with the Company.

Cajelie

adjacent iſlands. Others dwell cloſe to the ſea, on thoſe iſlands, their houſes being raiſed on poſts, a little diſtance into the ſea, always at the mouths of rivers. They are Mahomedans. They have a language of their own, but no written character. Many Boadjoos are ſettled on the north-weſt coaſt of *Borneo*, who not only fiſh, but make ſalt, and trade in ſmall boats along the coaſt. They make ſalt in the following manner; they gather ſeaweeds, burn them, make a ley of aſhes, filter it, and form a bitter kind of ſalt in ſquare pieces, by boiling it in pans made of the bark of the *aneebong*, or cabbage-tree; theſe pieces of ſalt are carried to market, and paſs as a currency for money. Thoſe ſettled on the north-weſt coaſt of *Borneo* uſed to ſupply the Engliſh at *Balambangan* with rice, fowls, and other proviſions. Many of them are ſettled at the mouth of the river of *Paſſir*, who employ themſelves chiefly in catching ſmall ſhrimps, with handnets, which they puſh through the mud; the ſhrimps, after being well waſhed in ſeawater, are expoſed to a hot ſun; they are then beat in a mortar, and made into a kind of paſte, called *blatchong*, which has a ſtrong ſmell, and is much in requeſt all over India. Theſe laſt Boadjoos may be called fixed, or ſtationary, compared with thoſe who live always in their boats, and who, as the monſoon ſhifts on the iſlands *Borneo* and *Celebes*, ſhift their ſituation to leeward, ſo as to be always under the lee of the land, for the ſake of fine weather. Moſt of thoſe who rove round *Celebes*, though they change their ſituation with the monſoon, conſider *Macaſſer* as their home. When Captain CARTERET lay at *Bantain*, a fleet of more than a hundred ſail of their boats anchored there;

Cajelie lies upon the weſtern ſhore of *Celebes*, towards the north, between *Mandhar Mamoedje*, and *Sinlenſa*, which is the ſouthernmoſt place belonging to the government of *Ternate*.

By the treaty of *Boni*, this country was

there; they were from twelve to eighteen, and twenty, tons burden, and carried from ſixteen to twenty men: they were all under Dutch colours. The Boadjoo boats which Captain Forrest ſaw at the little *Paternoſter* Iſlands, between *Borneo* and *Celebes*, were about five or ſix tons burden: ſeveral had women and children on board; and their women are ſaid to be capable of managing their veſſels, even in heavy ſeas: they lay at anchor, fiſhing for the ſwallow, or ſea-ſlug, in ſeven or eight fathoms water. They ſee the ſwallow in clear water, and ſtrike it as it lies on the ground, with an inſtrument, conſiſting of four bearded iron prongs, fixed along an almoſt cylindrical ſtone, rather ſmaller at one end than at the other, about eighteen inches long; an iron ſhot is fixed at the end of the ſtone, next the point of the prongs. The ſwallow is dried in the ſmoke, and ſent to the China market. They alſo dive for it, the beſt being got in deep water. The black is reputed the beſt; but there is ſome of a lighter colour, found only in deep water, which is of more value in China than the black, and ſold even for forty dollars a picol; the pieces are much larger than the general run of the black ſwallow, ſome of them weighing half a pound. The white is the worſt, and is eaſily got in ſhoal water, and on the dry ſand, among coral rocks, at low water: its value is about four or five dollars a picol. The Boadjoos are very uſeful to the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, in carrying intelligence ſpeedily from place to place. *T.*

ceded to the king of *Ternate*; but the government at *Batavia* afterwards iſſued orders that it ſhould be conſidered as belonging to the government of *Macaſſer*.

It uſed formerly to yield much cocoanut-oil, and to furniſh as much of this article as was wanted by the Company; but ſince the year 1730, it has been ſo much ravaged, firſt by the internal diſſentions between their own nobles, and afterwards by the Mandhareſe, that all the cocoanut-trees were felled for the purpoſe of making *bentings*: the land lies now almoſt uncultivated and deſert, and is ſubject, for the greateſt part, to the Mandhareſe.

The petty kings of this country requeſted the aid of the Company, ſeveral years ago, againſt the Mandhareſe; upon which ſome veſſels and troops were ſent thither; but they behaved ſo ill, that the natives ſorely repented having ever had recourſe to the Dutch for aſſiſtance.

From the report of the chief perſons employed on that occaſion, by the government of *Macaſſer*, it appears that the country was then very productive in *paddee*; as likewiſe

likewiſe that it yielded much gold, and that in the neighbourhood of *Pavigi*, which is ſituated upon the gulph, or bay, of *Tomineé*, gold is found by digging about four feet under the ſurface of the earth.

Toerongan is ſituated inland. This negree, or townſhip, and eight others appertaining to it, bear the denomination of *Wauwo Woele*, or the *leſſer mountains*. They were formerly all free, and dependent upon no one; afterwards, and poſterior to the conqueſt of *Samboupo*, ſix of them were admitted, at their earneſt requeſt, into the alliance of the Company; and not long after, the people of *Touraayo*, ſituate behind *Goach*, at the foot of the mountains, and ſome others in that neighbourhood, were, equally, at their own deſire, included in the treaty of *Boni*.

In time of war theſe places are of great importance; but moſt of them are at preſent united with *Boni*; as is the caſe with *Boele-boele*, and its appurtenances, which is ſituated in the bay of *Boni*, at and near the river of the ſame name. To the weſt, it has *Wauwo Woele*; to the ſouth, the river *Caſſa*; to the north, the river *Tanka*; and

to the eaſt, the ſhores of the bay. This country is likewiſe ſometimes called *Tello-limpoe*; it has three chief negrees, or townſhips, namely, *Boele-boele*, *Lamante*, and *Radja*, which are all independent of each other.

Before, and during, the war of 1667, theſe people were the faithful allies of the Macaſſers, who, by the treaty of *Boni*, gave up all claim to this country and its inhabitants. After that war, it was poſſeſſed by RADJA PALACCA, and it was governed by him in behalf of the Company, remaining one of their moſt obedient allies; but after his death, it continued under the dominion of *Boni*, whoſe kings now look upon it as an appendage of their crown.

Theſe are the principal matters relative to the kingdoms and ſtates of *Celebes*, which I found particularly mentioned in the aforeſaid manuſcript account.

I ſhall, in concluſion, ſay ſomething of the more diſtant countries, which, though they do not peculiarly belong to *Celebes*, have much relation to the Company's government at *Macaſſer*.

Bouton is a pretty large iſland, lying eaſt

of *Celebes*, of which I ſhall ſay more, in the account of my voyage from *Macaſſer* to *Amboyna*.

The kings of this iſland have equally acceded to the treaty of *Boni*, though they have not conſtantly ſtuck to it; for in the year 1752, they ſuffered the Company's ſhip *Ruſt en Werk* (Reſt and Work) to be plundered by pirates, for which the Boutonners received a ſevere correction from the Company, in the year 1755; they then ſought for aid from *Boni* and *Ternate*, but not ſucceeding in this, they began, by degrees, to incline towards peace, and ſhewed an inclination to keep their engagements with the Company, without, however, either renewing them, or paying the penalty which was impoſed upon them by the Company, on account of the perfidiouſneſs they had been guilty of.

The petty ſtates which are ſituated on the oppoſite iſland of *Sumbawa*, viz. *Dima*, *Dompo*, *Tambora*, *Sangar*, *Papékat*, and *Sumbawa*, are independent of each other, but united together by a defenſive alliance, as far as regards their poſſeſſions on the iſland *Sumbawa*. They are likewiſe all,

ſeparately, the allies, and under the protection, of the Company.

Bima lies at the eaſt end of *Sumbawa*, about forty-five leagues ſouth of the ſouth-weſt point of *Celebes*, and the paſſage over can be effected, in a good veſſel, the whole year round. It is a free ſtate, under whoſe juriſdiction are comprehended, the Straits of *Sappy*, the whole of *Mangery* at the weſt point of the iſland of *Ende*, and the iſland *Goenong-api*, which laſt lies a little to the north of *Bima*.

The princes of *Bima*, *Dompo*, *Tambora*, *Sangar*, and *Papékat*, have, in general, obſerved their engagements with the Company pretty well; but thoſe of *Sumbawa* have paid little attention to them, by the inſtigation of the Macaſſers and Wadjoreſe, who reſort in great numbers to theſe iſlands, eſpecially the latter, who are great merchants and adventurous navigators, and with their country-boats they keep the ſea in a moſt ſurprizing manner; they are even ſaid to go as far as the Engliſh ſettlement at *Bencoolen*, on the weſt coaſt of *Sumatra*. *

Paſſir

* Captain FORREST mentions to have ſeen fifteen prows, from *Celebes*, at a time, at *Bencoolen*, loaded with a mixed cargo of

Paſſir and *Coeti* are two little ſtates, or ſeaports, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the iſland *Borneo*, and were anciently conquered by the Macaſſers *.

Their princes uſed formerly to viſit theſe places alone, or only accompanied by their relatives, prohibiting their other ſubjects, or allies, from going thither. But theſe ſtates were received into alliance with the Company in the year 1686.

In 1726, they were taken by the famous fugitive Wadjoreſe prince, and pirate, AROE SEENKANG, and have ever ſince paid an annual tribute to him †.

of ſpices, wax, caſſia, ſandalwood, dollars, and the cloths of *Celebes*, called cambays. *T.*

* FORREST informs us that *Paſſir* was a colony from *Wadjo*, and that the Wadjoreſe equally formed ſettlements on *Sumbawa*, and at *Rhio*, in the Straits of *Malacca*. *T.*

† *Paſſir* ſeems now to be entirely freed from the influence of the Dutch, the tribute mentioned by the author, being oſtenſibly required for the protection of the freedom of the port; and in 1772, when the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company's ſhip, *Britannia*, was there, a factory was intended to be eſtabliſhed, chiefly for the ſail of opium, and Indoſtan piecegoods, and the purchaſe of the precious commodities, ſpices, gold, wax, &c. brought thither by the Bugueſſes; this plan was only fruſtrated by a commotion taking place in the town, at which the Engliſh commander, rather needleſsly, took the alarm, and quitted the country. *Paſſir* was then a place of

great trade; with two fathoms water on the muddy bar of a river that led up to the town, forty-five miles, the tide running a good way up above the town; this conſiſted of about 300 wooden houſes on the north ſide of the river, moſt of them inhabited by Bugguess merchants: the houſe and wooden fort of the ſultan was on the ſouth ſide, a very little way from the river. The *Britannia* lay about fifteen miles off the river's mouth, in ſix fathoms, muddy ground. *T.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Account of Fort ROTTERDAM, *and of the Lands of the Company around it.—Diſputes with the Macaſſers about the Limits.—The Northern Provinces.—Occurrences relating to them.—*MAROS.—SIANG.—LABACCAN.—SAGEREE.—*Southern Provinces.* — POELEMBANKEENG. — GALISSONG.—*Iſlands on the Coaſt.*—TANAKEKE, *and the* THREE BROTHERS.—BONTAIN.—*Character of its Inhabitants.—Deſcription of the Bay and Fort.*—BOELECOMBA.—*Productions.—Its Road and Fort.* — BERA.—*Ship-building.—Deſcription of their Proas.—The Inhabitants.*

HAVING given an account of the principal matters relative to the allies of the Company, I ſhall next proceed to deſcribe the Company's own lands, which belong to the government of *Macaſſer*.

Of the Company's poſſeſſions in *Celebes*, Fort *Rotterdam* is the chief. It lies in the kingdom of *Macaſſer*, and belonged formerly to the juriſdiction of *Tello*. It is on the weſt coaſt of *Celebes*, in the ſouth latitude of 5° 7′, and is the head ſettlement of the Com-

Company here. It is called *Oedjong Pandang* in the treaty of *Boni*, by which it was ceded to the Company, together with the diſtrict belonging to it. None of the contracts point out the exact diſtance to which the juriſdiction round the fort ought to be extended, on which account the Macaſſers endeavour to circumſcribe it to the north within the exterior bounds of the town, or negree, of *Vlaardingen* and its ſuburbs; to the ſouth, within the outward line of the campon *Baro*; and to the eaſt, they define it to extend no farther than to *Bontualack*.

The difference in this, and in many other reſpects, between the Macaſſers and the Company, ariſes from the circumſtance, that the treaty of *Boni* remained in full force after the conqueſt of *Samboupo*, or rather that it was never altered and amended, or at leaſt explained, upon the change of affairs, although the Company have ſince been three times at war with the Macaſſers, and the iſſue has, every time, been ſuch, that they had only to preſcribe their conditions; yet this neceſſary emendation, it ſeems, has never been thought of.

The preſent juriſdiction of the Company,

as

as claimed and maintained by them, extends from *Sambong Java*, to what is called the *Kraal*; thence northward, along the ſalt marſhes, behind *Bontualack*, as far as the river *Patinga Loang*, not far from *Oedjong Tana*.

The northern provinces include the lands of *Maros*, with the half of *Sodian*, and *Barras*, or *Cabbe Siang*; *Labaccan*, with *Bongero* and *Sageree*, which are the plains lying between *Tello* and *Tanete*, the proper granaries of *Celebes*; then the places, which are ſituated between theſe plains and the mountains; and laſtly, the mountain-villages, or negrees.

Theſe lands, which border upon each other, have the ſea, to the weſt; *Tanete* and *Maros*, to the north; *Lamoeroe*, to the eaſt; and the kingdom of *Macaſſer*, to the ſouth.

They were all conquered during the reign of the Macaſſer king, ALLAH OEDEEN, who reduced them to ſervitude, and divided them by villages and lots among the nobles of *Macaſſer*, who received from the inhabitants, as from their own property, the tenth of the produce, and the uſual feudal ſervices,

till

till October, 1668, when, upon the rupture with the Macaſſers, *Maros* was taken by the Company and their allies; but it fell again into the hands of the enemy on the 20th of November enſuing; however, upon the conqueſt of *Samboupo*, this province was alſo ſubdued by our people.

In the year 1736, or 1737, when the northern provinces were overrun by the rebel CRAIN BONTALANCAS, all of them, either voluntarily, or by force, abandoned the ſide of the Company, and took up arms againſt them; but when *Maros* was retaken, in Auguſt, 1737, by Governor SMOUT, moſt of the chiefs returned to their former allegiance, while the others abſconded, though they were afterwards purſued and taken, and underwent a well-merited puniſhment.

Thoſe who returned to their duty, together with other chiefs newly appointed, were ſummoned, in January, 1738, to the fort, where thoſe who were guilty, but had returned of themſelves, received a pardon; and all of them, LABACCAN excepted, abjured for ever the dominion of *Macaſſer*, and were accordingly again received as faithful ſubjects to the Company.

A junior

A junior merchant has the ſuperintendence over all theſe provinces; he reſides in that of *Maros*, between the paliſadoed fort called *Valkenburg*, and the negree, *Soerjjerang*; the lands around the Company's *pagger*, or paliſadoed fort, in the kingdom of *Tanete*, on the river *Pantjana*, are alſo under this reſident. The number of negrees, or townſhips, over which the Company's juriſdiction, and the authority of the reſident at *Maros*, extends, amounts to three hundred and ſeventy.

For the government of the inhabitants under the reſident, *Maros* has, beſides, five native regents, who are elected by the elders of the people, from the neareſt relatives of ſuch as have died, and are preſented to the governor and council at *Macaſſer*, who confirm the election, with a reſerve, nevertheleſs, for the approbation of the government at *Batavia*.

Siang has one regent, choſen from among the natives, who is called LOMA.

Labaccan has alſo one native regent, who has the appellation of CRAIN.

Sageree has five of theſe regents, the chief of whom is CRAIN MANGALONG.

The

The greateſt part of the inhabitants of theſe plains, however, are Bougineſe, who are very induſtrious in agriculture: theſe again have their own peculiar chiefs, who are appointed by the king of *Bone*; but they are, as well as the ſubjects of the Company, liable to the levy of the tenth part of the rice-harveſt.

The other provinces, lying between theſe plains and the mountains, have likewiſe their own regents, appointed to rule over them in behalf of the Company, moſt of them under the title of *Crain*, with the adjection of the name of the negree, which is under their authority. Theſe laſt furniſh the timber and bamboos wanted for the Company's poſt at *Soerysjerang*, and logs for repairing the wooden pier at Fort *Rotterdam*.

Beſides theſe regents, they have likewiſe, among themſelves, ſeveral inferior chiefs, whom they call *galurangs*. They live quietly under their own laws, and in the enjoyment of their own religion; and perform the feudal ſervices required of them by the Company, as their rightful lord paramount.

To the ſouth of Fort *Rotterdam*, on the weſt

west coast, the Company poſſeſs the ſmall provinces of *Poelem Bankeeng* and *Galiſſong*, being within the kingdom of *Macaſſer* proper, between the fiſhpools of *Aing*, and the river *Tjikoa*; but the little ſtate of *Sandraboni* lies in the middle. Theſe plains were ſubdued by the Company, in the war of 1667.

The inhabitants of both theſe diſtricts make good ſoldiers, and thoſe of *Galiſſong* are eſteemed here the beſt ſeamen; when the Company want ſailors at *Macaſſer*, they are obliged to ſerve without any other pay than their ſubſiſtence.

To the province of *Galiſſong* belong the iſland *Tanakeke*, and the ſmall iſlands called *the Three Brothers*, which, equally, by right of conqueſt, are the property of the Company, and the inhabitants of them, their ſubjects; as is the caſe with all the other iſlands which are ſcattered along the weſt coaſt of *Celebes*, from the point of *Tourattea* to *Tanete*. The Macaſſers have a colony of Touradjeſe upon the iſland *Great Barnang*; but many of theſe iſlands are uninhabited; ſome of them are inhabited by the ſubjects of the Company, and a few by Bougineſe.

On

On the ſouth coaſt, and on the eaſt ſhore of the Bay of *Boni*, the Company poſſeſs the kingdoms of *Bontain*, *Boele Comba*, and *Bera*, together with their dependencies.

Bontain is bounded on the weſt by the river *Tino*, which divides it from the kingdom of *Tourattea*; on the north by the mountains, which bear its own name; on the eaſt by the river *Kalekongang*; and on the ſouth by the ſea.

It was anciently conſidered among the dependent allies of *Macaſſer*, and was ruled by their kings; but it has twice been conquered by the arms of the Company and their allies, and was ceded to them, in property, by the treaty of *Boni*.

It is a very pleaſant country, and is fertile in rice. There is a larger bay for ſhips and veſſels of all deſcriptions, and the people of this land, and thoſe of *Boele Comba* and *Bera* are the beſt natured, moſt peaceful, and tractable, of all the ſubjects which the Company have in the whole iſland of *Celebes* *.

This

* Captain CARTERET gives us ſeveral inſtances of the patient and unreſenting temper of the inhabitants of *Bontain*, which

This kingdom was once given by the Company to RADJA PALACCA, as a reward for the great ſervices rendered to them; but, from default of male heirs, falling again to them, it was afterwards conſidered as a too

which occurred while he lay there. The bay he deſcribes as a large one, where ſhips may lie in perfect ſafety during both the monſoons: the ſoundings are good and regular, and the bottom ſoft mud; nor is there any danger in coming in, but a ledge of rocks, which are above water, and are a good mark for anchoring. The higheſt land in ſight is called *Bontain*-Hill; and when a ſhip is in the offing, at the diſtance of two or three miles from the land, ſhe ſhould bring this hill north, or N.¼W. and then run in with it and anchor. In this bay there are ſeveral ſmall towns; that which is called *Bontain* lies in the northeaſt part of it, and here is a ſmall paliſadoed fort, on which eight guns are mounted, that carry a ball of about eight pounds weight: it is juſt ſufficient to keep the country-people in ſubjection, and is intended for no other purpoſe: it lies on the ſouth ſide of a ſmall river, and there is water for a ſhip to come cloſe to it. Wood and water are to be procured here in great plenty; likewiſe plenty of freſh proviſions, at a reaſonable rate: the beef is excellent, but it would be difficult to procure enough of it for a ſquadron. Rice may be had in any quantity, ſo may fowls and fruit: there are alſo abundance of wild hogs in the woods, which may be purchaſed at a low price, as the natives, being mahomedans, never eat them; and fiſh may be caught with the ſeine. The latitude of *Bontain*-Hill is 5° 30′ ſouth. The tides are very irregular; commonly it is but once high and once low water in four-and-twenty hours, and there is ſeldom ſix feet difference between them. *T.*

important poſſeſſion ever to part with it again, without the moſt urgent neceſſity.

It is governed by two native regents, who bear the title of *Crain*; namely, one who rules over *Bontain*, and one over *Tompoboele*, under whom there are ſeveral *galarangs*, or village-chiefs. All theſe, together with the ſerjeant who commands at the Company's *pagger*, or paliſadoed fort, are under the authority of the reſident, whoſe juriſdiction likewiſe extends over *Boele Comba*, which was alſo anciently a ſeparate kingdom, but was brought under the yoke of the Macaſſers in later times.

It ſtretches from the river *Kalekongang*, which divides it from *Bontain*, to *Bera*, or rather to the river *Banpang*, which runs between them; to the north of it, lie the mountains of *Kyndang*, which ſeparate it from *Boni*, or rather from the highlanders of *Touraayo*; to the ſouth, it is waſhed by the ſea.

This province is likewiſe one of the conqueſts of the Company, and its inhabitants are, therefore, their ſubjects; and they have, together with thoſe of *Bontain*, the ſame duties to fulfil, and enjoy the ſame privi-

leges,

leges, as thoſe who dwell in the Company's northern provinces.

Two head regents are, in like manner, appointed to rule over this diſtrict, namely, CRAIN GANTARANG and CRAIN OEDJONG-LOWE, who have ſeveral *galarangs* under them.

The land is fertile in rice, and abounds in game and extenſive foreſts; but the timber is not adapted to the conſtruction of houſes.

In the weſt monſoon, the road before *Boele Comba* is dangerous for ſhips; ſmall veſſels, however, can run into the river *Kalekongang*, at high water. At or near the mouth of this river, ſtands the Company's paliſadoed fort *Carolina*, in which the reſident, who is a junior merchant, has his abode.

To him is equally entruſted the ſuperintendence over *Bera*, which province reaches from the river *Bampang*, eaſtward, along the ſeacoaſt, to the point of *Laſſem* (called *Laſſoa* in our charts), and thence northward to the point of *Cadjang*; on the landſide, it borders upon *Boele Comba*, *Tourang*, and *Kadjang*, belonging to *Boele-boele*.

The whole of this country was ceded to the Company by the treaty of *Boni*. It is

barren and rocky, and yields to its inhabitants nothing but *ocbee* * in the room of rice, or bread; if they want *paddee*, they muſt have recourſe to *Boele Comba*, or *Bima*. It has ſome woods, from which the inhabitants, and thoſe of *Boele Comba*, obtain middling good timber for building proas; the chief building yards of the Macaſſers were formerly at this place †.

* *Panicum cervi.*

† They build their proas, which they call *paduakans*, very tight, by dowling the planks together, as coopers do the parts that form the head of a caſk, and putting the bark of a certain tree between, which ſwells, and then fit timbers to the planks, as at *Bombay*; but do not rabbet, as it is called, the planks, as is done there. In Europe we build reverſely; we ſet up the timbers firſt, and fit the planks to them afterwards. They are bigotted to old models and fixtures in fitting their veſſels: the largeſt never exceed fifty tons: they have their bow lowered, or cut down, in a very awkward manner, ſo as to be often under water; a bulk head is raiſed a good way abaft the ſtem, to keep off the ſea. They have a tripod maſt, with a high pointed ſail: the tripod maſt is made of three ſtout bamboos; two riſing from the ſides, and one from the fore part of the veſſel, laſhed together at the top: the two feet abreaſt are bored at the lower end acroſs, with holes about three inches in diameter; and theſe holes receive the two ends of a piece of timber, which goes acroſs, like a main thaft; on theſe the two abreaſt parts of the tripod turn, as upon a hinge: the fore part of the maſt is fixed forward, like a mainſtay, to a knee amidſhips, with a forelock; by unlocking the forelock, the maſt is ſtruck in a moment. *T.*

The

The men of *Bera* are, in general, good warriors, both at ſea and at land; the richeſt among them are merchants; the others employ themſelves in building of proas, and in manufacturing a ſort of coarſe, white, cloth, from the cotton which grows in tolerable abundance here; a ſmall annual tribute of theſe cloths is paid to the Company.

This country has ten regents, of whom the chief is CRAIN BERA. Theſe come once a year to Fort *Rotterdam* to diſcharge their tribute.

CHAPTER XIII.

Account of the Iſland SALEYER.—*Its Productions.—Government.—Character of the Inhabitants.—Iſlands of* BONARATTE *and* CALAUWE.—*Intricacy and Difficulty of the Government of* MACASSER.—*Contract, or Treaty, of* BONI.—*Miſtaken Policy of the Company.—Declining State of their Authority.—Encroachments and clandeſtine Trade of the Engliſh.—Difficulty of preventing them.—Alarm excited at* MACASSER *by the Arrival of Captain* CARTERET, *in* 1768.—*Account of that Affair.—Bad Conſequences of the Second never ſucceeding to the Governorſhip.—Emoluments of the Governor at* MACASSER.—*The other Servants of the Company.—The Company's Trade.—Private Trade.—Impoſſibility of preventing Smuggling.—Opinions of Governor* MOSSEL *on theſe Subjects.—Receipts and Charges of this Settlement.—Memorial of Mr.* VAN PLEUREN *on the Trade of the Company.—Eſtabliſhment of* MACASSER.—*Malays.—Their Chief, or Captain.—Trade of the Chineſe to* CELEBES.—*Deſcription of their Junk.—Departure from* MACASSER.

THE iſland *Saleyer* lies nearly ſouth of the point of *Laſſem*, full two leagues; in the ſtrait

ſtrait between them, are the *Budjeroons*, called, by our ſeamen, the *Boeſeroens*, which are three ſmall, uninhabited iſlets.

There are ſeveral other iſlands which lie round and near *Saleyer*, and belong to it, of which, however, only two are inhabited, namely, *Bonaratte* and *Calauwe*.

The Macaſſers, who had poſſeſſion of *Saleyer*, made a ceſſion of it, by the treaty of *Boni*, to the king of *Ternate*; but it has ſince, in the lapſe of time, and by ſlow degrees, been wreſted from the Ternateſe, by the Company.

Saleyer is very mountainous and woody, and there are many deer in its foreſts. It produces *ocbee* and *batta*; the laſt is a ſort of millet, which conſtitutes a chief part of the food of its inhabitants. Much coarſe, blue and white, ſtriped, cloth, is made here of the *capas*, or cotton, which it likewiſe produces *.

This

* Captain Forrest, who was caſt away, in the *Bonetta* ketch, on a ſmall, deſert, ſandy, iſland, eaſt of *Saleyer*, travelled acroſs the latter in 1763, accompanied by the reſident. They were carried by men up the very ſteep hills, that run along the middle of the iſland from north to ſouth, on bamboo

 chairs,

This iſland is governed by fourteen regents, who reſort once a year, in the month of October, to Fort *Rotterdam*, with two hundred and fifty, or three hundred, of their countrymen, to perform the cuſtomary duties of vaſſalage, and to ſet forth ſuch diſputes as they may have among themſelves, in order to obtain a deciſion in them.

This people are puſillanimous and ſervile, and, at the ſame time, quarrelſome and perverſe; inſomuch, that, if their ſituation be not exactly to their own liking, they immediately emigrate, with the whole of their family, to another country.

A junior merchant is placed here, as reſident, in behalf of the Company, who has his abode near, or in, a paliſadoed *pagger*, or redoubt, called *Defence*, which lies, as I was informed, in 5° 0′ ſouth latitude.

The beforementioned iſlands *Bonaratte* and *Calauwe* were given, in fief, to the old RADJA PALACCA. He made uſe of the

chairs, made on the ſpot; and they went over the flat lands on horſeback. He computes the inhabitants of *Salyer* to amount to about ſixty thouſand. They drink much of a liquor called *ſaguire*, drawn from the palm-tree: they burn tallow from the tallow-tree, as in *China*. T.

firſt

firſt for a place of education and inſtruction for his dancing girls; to which purpoſe his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of *Boni* likewiſe appropriated it; hence, theſe iſlands are moſtly inhabited by Bougineſe, and but very few Saleyers are found upon them.

From theſe ſhort ſketches and deſcriptions of the nations who inhabit the great iſland of *Celebes*, may eaſily be deduced the different relations, in which they ſtand towards each other, and towards their neighbours, both with reſpect to their internal policy, and their foreign connections; and hence may likewiſe be ſeen, how intricate and troubleſome the office of governor of *Macaſſer* muſt be, in order to reconcile the jarring intereſt of all theſe numerous petty ſtates with each other, and with the intereſt of his employers.

The contract, or treaty, of *Boni*, which has been ſo often mentioned in the preceding pages, was the foundation upon which the ſuperſtructure of the Company's power and influence in *Celebes* was erected more than a century ago. *Boni*, who firſt entered into this engagement, and whence it has always been called the contract of *Boni*, has, for that reaſon,

reaſon, been ever eſteemed the firſt and oldeſt ally of the Company. It was, at that time, in danger of being ſubdued by the Macaſſers, and not poſſeſſing ſufficient power to oppoſe ſo redoubted an enemy, it may, therefore, be eaſily conceived, that the Bougineſe readily embraced the opportunity of entering into the ſtricteſt alliance with the Company, whoſe power was ſo great, and ſo renowned throughout India, that whoever were their allies, might diveſt themſelves of all fear of being maſtered. This was, in fact, apparent in the ſequel. *Macaſſer* was ſubdued, and *Boni*, being thus freed from the fear of their hereditary adverſaries, encreaſed, more and more, in greatneſs and luſtre, more eſpecially during the government of RADJA PALACCA. It became an adopted political maxim, that *Macaſſer* ſhould be continually kept under; and this has been, till the preſent time, ſo ſtrictly adhered to, that *Boni* has been rendered ſo great and powerful, that it is at preſent out of all queſtion to preſcribe rules or bounds to that kingdom, although the miſtake is now moſt clearly perceivable: it even happens, from time to time, and every year,

year, that different portions of territory, which appertain to the Company by right of conqueſt, are ſuffered, by the negligence, or indulgence, of the governors, to be wreſted from them by *Boni*, under ſome plauſible pretext or other; while theſe encroachments are, likewiſe, afterwards unaccountably ratified by the government at *Batavia*.

The preſent ſovereign of *Boni* has brought it ſo far, that one of his grandſons has aſcended the throne of the powerful kingdom of *Loehoe*, and which the Company have been obliged to wink at; perhaps the danger to their intereſts, which lies in this vaſt encreaſe of the power and influence of the Bougineſe monarch, has not been ſufficiently inſiſted upon by their ſervants, or it may even be, that it has been repreſented in a favourable light.

Hereby, and by ſeveral other circumſtances, the authority of the Company has ſo much declined in *Celebes*, that their poſſeſſions in the iſland may be conſidered as very inferior in importance to others. Little regard is now paid to the treaty of *Boni*, upon which every thing hinged heretofore. The king of *Boni* has even preſumed to pre-

fer

ſer a claim upon the campon *Baro*, cloſe to the fort, becauſe he reſided for ſome time in it, when he had fled to the Company for protection againſt his ſiſter AROE PALACCA. It is not impoſſible, that when this prince is dead, other darker clouds may ariſe; for this is certain, that all the native princes are jealous of the footing which the Company have obtained upon the iſland, and envy them their poſſeſſions; and, if they could but remain united among themſelves, they would not let ſlip any opportunity of freeing themſelves from their dependence, by expelling the Dutch from *Celebes*, or at leaſt curtailing their power and influence. This it is what conſtitutes the moſt important, as well as the moſt difficult and delicate, part of the adminiſtration at *Macaſſer*, namely, to inſpire the principal nations with jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, at the ſame time preventing and avoiding, as much as poſſible, all actual hoſtilities and interference, in order not to be forced to join either one or the other.

The Company are not only menaced on this ſide, but their hereditary rivals in trade, the Engliſh, ſeek likewiſe to eſtabliſh themſelves

ſelves here, which they had nearly effected, about the river of *Sadraboni*, a few years ago. The Bougineſe, Wadjoreſe, and Mandhareſe are much attached to them, and aſſiſt them in the purchaſe of ſpices from *Ceram* and other iſlands. Their new eſtabliſhment at *Balambangang* gives them opportunities of connection with the merchants and other individuals of the different nations who reſort to *Paſſir* and *Soeti*, or have ſettled there, and of drawing them over to their intereſts: and if they were to perſevere in their endeavours, it would be very difficult to prevent them from obtaining a footing in *Celebes*; eſpecially upon conſidering what happened with reſpect to the little Engliſh ſloop of war, the *Swallow*, in 1768, whoſe ſtay at *Macaſſer* I mentioned in my former voyage; and though the circumſtances attending it, were contradicted to me now that I was at *Macaſſer*, it was in ſuch a manner, as rather confirmed my belief, in the credibility of Captain CARTERET; if a a little ſloop of twelve guns, with a ſick and exhauſted crew, was enough to cauſe ſuch an alarm, what would be the event if a

greater

greater force were to appear in theſe ſeas *.

If

* When Captain CARTERET reached *Macaſſer*, from the South Seas, his ſhip's company were in a dying condition, and it was in order to procure refreſhment for them, and ſhelter againſt the approaching bad monſoon, that he touched there. His arrival excited the greateſt alarm, and all the ſloops and veſſels that were proper for war were fitted out with the utmoſt expedition. He, however, thought to have been an overmatch for their whole ſea-force, had all his people been well; But they were ſo reduced, that, a boat having been diſpatched on ſhore, the united ſtrength of the remaining men, was not ſufficient to weigh the anchor, though a ſmall one, in order to proceed nearer to the town. As ſoon as it was known who he was, he was commanded, by a letter from the governor, "inſtantly to depart from the port, without coming any nearer "to the town; and not to anchor on any part of the coaſt, or "permit any of his people to land in any place that was under "the governor's juriſdiction;" and notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, and occular demonſtration of the emaciated and diſtreſſed ſtate of the crew, the ſhort and final anſwer of the deputies of the governor, who brought the letter, was, "that "they had abſolute and indiſpenſable orders from their maſ-"ters, not to ſuffer any ſhip, of whatever nation, to ſtay at "that port, and that theſe orders they muſt implicitly obey." To this Captain CARTERET replied, that perſons in their ſituation had nothing worſe to fear than what they ſuffered, and that, therefore, if they did not immediately allow him the liberty of the port, to purchaſe refreſhments, and procure ſhelter, he would, as ſoon as the wind would permit, in defiance of all their menaces, and all their force, go and anchor cloſe to the town; that if, at laſt, he ſhould find himſelf unable to compel them

If there be any government among the Company's poſſeſſions, that requires a chief, who is a man of knowledge, and of ſound judgment, vigilant and zealous, in diſcovering every machination and deſign that are concerted in the ſurrounding kingdoms and provinces, it is that of *Macaſſer*. As theſe qualities are ſeldom found in ſuch perſons as are raiſed to the head of affairs from the deſk, or other employments, which have no affinity with the art of government, it is evident that their adminiſtration cannot but be productive of the moſt prejudicial conſequences; and, for my own part, I entertain no doubt that there have been governors ſent thither from *Batavia*, who have never become acquainted with even the names of the greateſt

them to comply with requiſitions, the reaſonableneſs of which could not be controverted, he would run the ſhip aground under their walls, and after ſelling their lives as dearly as they could, bring upon them the diſgrace of having reduced a friend and ally, to ſo dreadful an extremity. It was not till after he had begun to put his threats in execution, by getting under ſail, and proceeding towards the town, that a treaty was entered into with him, by which, after much altercation, he was permitted to go to the bay of *Bantain*, in order to procure the neceſſary ſupplies of proviſions and water, to erect an hoſpital for his ſick, and to find ſhelter from the bad monſoon, till the return of a fit ſeaſon for ſailing to the weſtward. *T.*

part

part of the nations with whom they had to deal, much leſs with the various and intricate connections ſubſiſting between them and the Company.

I think it a radical defect in the management of the Company's affairs, that ſcarcely ever the ſecond perſon, in any adminiſtration, ſucceeds to the office of chief governor, in the ſettlement to which he is attached. He muſt incontrovertibly poſſeſs more local knowledge, than one who only knows the place by name, and who has never aſſiſted at the deliberations of the local council. Yet the mode which I condemn is ſo univerſally adopted, that it muſt even be ſurmiſed to be a maxim laid down by perſons in high authority, the motives of which it is impoſſible to divine.

At the ſame time, the government of *Macaſſer* not being a very lucrative one, the governors ſeldom wiſh to remain long in it; and they do not, therefore, take much pains to dive deep into the knowledge of affairs, each thinking that it will laſt his time.

Beſides what the Company allow the governor out of the profits upon trade, and the territorial

territorial revenues *, there are other private advantages, which help to make out his otherwiſe inconſiderable income. In the firſt place, the collection of the tenth of the produce of the earth, at which the governor is preſent, one year in the northern, and the other year in the ſouthern provinces. Secondly, the yearly letting out to farm the duties on articles of conſumption, for a preference in which two or three thouſand piaſters are generally given as a preſent. Thirdly, preſents are likewiſe given to the governor when vacancies occur among the petty kings of the oppoſite iſlands by their ſucceſſors, to procure his favour. In the fourth place, gifts are likewiſe offered by others, upon his coming to the government; as, for example, by thoſe of *Bera*, who are obliged to preſent him with a new proa,

* The Dutch Company ſupply their eaſtern ſettlements with the cloths of Indoſtan at 33⅓ per cent advance on the prime coſt; whatever they ſell for more is the profit of their ſervants. Five per cent for commiſſion and delcredere, on the ſale of all articles, is divided between the governor and the ſecond at *Macaſſer*; the former has likewiſe an allowance of *f.*3000, about 275*l.* ſterling per annum, to make good the expence he is at in entertaining the native princes and grandees. *T.*

made, in reſpect to ſize and ſhape, according to preſcribed rules, and ſuch as, being ſent to *Bima*, or *Sumbawa*, ſometimes fetches fifteeen hundred piaſters. And others of leſs importance; the mode of obtaining which is not known to me.

The other head ſervants in the Company's employ, at this place, conſiſts of the following officers:

The vice-governor, or ſecond, who has the title and rank of ſenior merchant. The trade that is carried on here, chiefly relates to his department. He is, at the ſame time, commercial bookkeeper, and has an aſſiſtant, who writes the Company's ledger. As is cuſtomary in all the Company's ſettlements, the ſecond in command is preſident of the council of juſtice, and of other boards. All his offices, however, put together, yield but little. Mr. VAN PLEUREN, who had filled this ſtation for eight years, aſſured me more than once (and I have no reaſon to doubt what this worthy man told me in this reſpect, having heard it confirmed by ſeveral intelligent and unintereſted perſons), that taking one year with another, his income had not exceeded five hundred rixdollars, or

twelve

twelve hundred gilders, per annum, for the whole time he had been the ſecond at *Macaſſer*. This ſum might, indeed, eaſily have been quadrupled by unlawful means; as, by receiving preſents, in the quality of preſident of the council of juſtice; by giving undue preferences to Chineſe merchants, or others, in the diſpoſal of the Company's piecegoods; by winking at monopolies in trade; and by other evil means, which are ſufficiently notorious.

The commander of the military is the third in order; he has the title and rank of ſenior merchant.

Next follow the *ſhebandar*, or maſter of the port, and the fiſcal, who are both merchants in rank.

The ſecretary of police and caſhier, the *winkelier*, or purveyor, the reſident of *Boelecombe* and *Bontain*, the reſident of *Maros*, and the *ſoldy-boekhouder*, or paymaſter, are junior merchants in title and in rank, and theſe, together with the preceding officers, form the council of polity.

The reſident on the iſland of *Saleyer*, has the rank of bookkeeper, equally with the firſt interpreter in the Macaſſer and Bougineſe

languages; the latter was, at that time, thought a very good office; he has two aſſiſtant interpreters under him.

To the military belong further, two lieutenants and ſix enſigns; of which laſt, one is commandant at *Bima*.

The lieutenant of the artillery, is at the ſame time, *fabriek*, or inſpector, of the fortifications and buildings, and may, in certain points, be here conſidered as engineer.

The equipment of, and controul over, the Company's veſſels, which conſiſt of ten or twelve *panchallangs* * and ſloops, employed in cruiſing along the coaſt, in order to prevent ſmuggling, are veſted in an inſpector of equipment, who has the rank of ſea-lieutenant.

The Company's trade here, conſiſts chiefly in the ſale of piecegoods, eſpecially of coarſe cloths, which are, therefore, prohibited to be imported by private traders. At the time of Governor MOSSEL, that is, in the beginning of his goverment, 1752, he calculated that the yearly amount of the piecegoods ſent to *Celebes*, was one hundred

* Country-veſſels, with one maſt, and a large pointed ſail. T.

thouſand

thouſand gilders, upon which the profits were eſtimated at forty thouſand; but as the contraband trade with the Engliſh has greatly encreaſed ſince that time, and the orders from *Batavia* for cloths have not been properly executed, with other additional influencing circumſtances, this vent and the conſequent profits, are much curtailed.

"It is ſo impoſſible," ſays MOSSEL, in his *State of India* "to prevent ſmuggling at "*Macaſſer*, on account of the many creeks "and inlets of *Celebes*, which afford oppor-"tunities for a contraband trade, that I hold "it expedient and neceſſary, that all private "trade from the ſpice-iſlands thither, ceaſe "and be prohibited." This private trade, however, is continued as heretofore, at leaſt to *Amboyna* and back.

This free or private trade, is chiefly carried on, from *Macaſſer* to *Amboyna* and *Batavia*, in rice, ſlaves, *tripangs*, and the cloths which are made there; from *Amboyna* back, ſpecie is moſtly brought; and from *Batavia*, proviſions and ſuch piecegoods as are not prohibited.

The little that the Company draw from *Macaſſer* and its appurtenances, conſiſts in ſapanwood of *Bima* *, and ſome *cadjang*. A ſhip is, at preſent, ſent thither every year, which carries a cargo from *Batavia*, in the month of March or April, and returns to the capital of India, by way of *Bima* and *Sumbawa*.

* In 1778, 580,000*lb*. Bima ſapanwood was ſold in Holland, at *f*.15 per 100*lb*. (equal to about 28*s*. per cwt.); and upon this article, the profit is ſuppoſed to be between fifty and ſixty per cent; which, however, is ſcarcely more than enough to cover the charges of conveyance to Europe. In April, 1769, the king of *Siam*, whence the Dutch uſed to receive much ſapanwood, but the trade to which country they had abandoned for ſome time, ſent a letter to the government at *Batavia*, informing it that tranquillity was again reſtored there, and that *Siam* had recovered from the ravages of the Avaneſe; requeſting, at the ſame time, that the Company would reeſtabliſh their factory, and that they would furniſh him with 1000 muſquets. To the firſt point, an anſwer was given, that the Company could not yet accede to his deſire; and as to the ſecond, they ſent him 500 muſquets, ſtipulating that their price ſhould be paid in ſapanwood, at *f*.3 per picol of 125*lb*. or, if need be, in wax, at the current rate of the day. The *Siam* ſapanwood would thus ſtand the Company, with freight, &c. in 2½ rixdollars per picol, at the higheſt, or *f*. 4. 16. per 100*lb*. and the rate at which the Macaſſer ſapanwood was ſold, as abovementioned, was *f*.15 per 100*lb*. But it does not appear that this article has, ſince that time, been procured from *Siam*. *T*.

Governor

Governor Mossel was of opinion that this expence might be avoided, as the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſettlement at *Maccaſſer* might be ſent by the ſhip for *Banda*, which calls there for rice, and the Bima ſapanwood might be fetched away by the ſhip annually returning from *Ternate*; while the ſlaves, which the Company require, for their own ſervice, from *Celebes*, might be diſpatched to *Batavia* by the veſſels employed in the private trade, for which a contract exiſts between the Company and the free merchants, but which is not now availed of; according to which, ſixty rixdollars, or one hundred and forty gilders per head, is agreed to be paid by the Company, for the conveyance of ſlaves to *Batavia*.

That gentleman further calculated the clear receipts of the Company, at the time, at eighty thouſand gilders; in which ſum were included the exciſe and cuſtom-duties, with the territorial revenues, which were taken at forty thouſand gilders.

I cannot determine whether any diminution has taken place in the latter, ſince the year 1752; but the forty thouſand gilders profits, which were then made by the

Company upon the trade in piecegoods, and upon opium, liquors, and other articles of importation, have undergone great alteration, to the diſadvantage of the Company; as at preſent *Celebes* is provided with the two firſt articles, in no inconſiderable quantities, by the contraband trade of the Engliſh; and it is not without reaſon, that apprehenſions are entertained that that enterprizing nation will endeavour to proſecute it more and more, as they are now almoſt the ſole maſters of the trade in piecegoods from *Bengal*, and they ſeem to aim at eſtabliſhing themſelves likewiſe in the eaſtern parts of India. Yet the Company's charges do not decreaſe in the ſame proportion with their receipts: it is true, that by the good management of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, in the concerns committed to his care, the charges have been lowered, thirty-three thouſand gilders, in the ſpace of eight years; and in the laſt year he reduced them even to three thouſand gilders below the lateſt memorial of economy; but what can this avail, if we conſider that by the above means, the profits have been reduced by one-half, and perhaps more, and that *Macaſſer* is yet a

loſing

loſing eſtabliſhment to the amount of upwards of eighty thouſand gilders a year; while it cannot be expected that all who ſucceed Mr. VAN PLEUREN in his office, ſhall equal him in integrity, and ſhall ſacrifice their own intereſt to promote that of their employers *.

The memorial drawn up by the abovementioned Mr. VAN PLEUREN, for the improvement of the Company's trade in *Celebes*, and the oppoſite iſlands, ſeemed to me to be a judicious and elaborate compoſition. The chief point, on which he inſiſted, was the prevention of the clandeſtine trade of the Engliſh, and the reduction, under the Company's influence, of *Salemparre*, a kingdom whoſe prince is attached to the Engliſh, and has always refuſed to become the ally of the Company; for he would thereby have obliged himſelf not to ſuffer any other nation to reſort to his dominions, againſt which he moſt ſtrenuouſly objected, alleging, that his country was open to all ſtrangers,

* In 1779, the receipts of this government amounted to *f.*63,190, and the charges to *f.*163,137, leaving a deficiency of *f.*100,053, or about 9,100*l.* ſterling. *T.*

who

who behaved with propriety, and regularly paid him his duties.

When the eſtabliſhment is complete at *Macaſſer*, it ſhould amount to eight hundred Europeans *; but this number is not nearly complete, on account of the great mortality on board of the Company's outward-bound ſhips, by which means fewer men are brought to *Batavia* than are wanted, and they are conſiderably thinned by the unhealthineſs of that place, and of *Bantam*, whereby not only *Macaſſer*, but likewiſe almoſt all of the Company's poſſeſſions, are in want of men.

Beſides the Europeans, the Company have, in time of war, a great number of Malays in their ſervice. Theſe people, who have emigrated in the ſixteenth century from *Johore*, *Patanee*, and other places on the Malay coaſts, and have ſettled themſelves here, dwell in a ſort of town, ſeparate from the Bougineſe, which is called

* In 1776-1777, the eſtabliſhment at *Macaſſer*, conſiſted of fifty-ſeven perſons in civil, and three in eccleſiaſtical, employments, thirteen ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, twenty-ſeven belonging to the artillery; 178 ſeamen and marines, 502 ſoldiers, and ſeventy-two mechanics; in all 852 Europeans. *T.*

after

after them *Campon Maleyo*. They are under one captain, or chief, who is nominated by the Company. They have always been inſeparably allied to the Company, and have rendered them very ſignal ſervices, both by ſea and land.

The Company have given the iſland *Tanakeke* to their captain, for his uſe. He came on board of my ſhip, with his brother, in order to accompany Mr. VAN PLEUREN as far as the point of *Tourattea*: he appeared to me to be a peculiarly friendly and open-hearted man, and they both poſſeſſed much ſenſibility; for when they took their laſt leave of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, the tears rolled down their cheeks: they told me aſide, that they loſt in him their beſt friend and benefactor. Indeed, I heard the ſame a few days before he went away from *Macaſſer*, from many others, both Europeans and Indians, who ſincerely lamented his departure, as that gentleman had made himſelf univerſally beloved, by his great affability, and his generous diſpoſition.

The Company have, for many years, allowed a Chineſe junk to come here, direct from *China*, every year, to bring thither the goods

goods which are exported from that country, and which otherwiſe would be clandeſtinely introduced into the iſland, by that intriguing nation, whom it would be impoſſible to exclude; and the Company's cuſtoms are now benefited by it, as, if I am rightly informed, every junk pays three thouſand Spaniſh dollars in duties. The paſſes for thoſe veſſels are granted by the government at *Batavia*, where they are obtained by the chief of the Chineſe nation, who ſends them over to the merchants in *China*, and for which it is ſaid that he receives full eighteen thouſand rixdollars *.

As ſoon as theſe goods are landed, every merchant, for there are ſeveral of them who come in ſuch a junk, expoſes his commodities for ſale, in a large houſe, which is peculiarly adapted for that purpoſe. This houſe is the daily reſort of a great number of people, particularly Macaſſers, Bougineſe, and Wadjoreſe, ſo that the merchandize imported is ſpeedily diſpoſed of.

Theſe merchants take in return *tripangs*, and Spaniſh dollars, both which render them

* About 3,900*l.* ſterling. *T.*

good

good profit, in *China*; and they are generally able to obtain forty thousand dollars, as the governor here, Mr. VAN DER VOORT, assured me *.

On

* Some judgment may be formed of the trade carried on by the Chinese to the eastern islands, from the following curious and interesting statement of the outward and return cargoes of a Chinese junk, from *China* to *Sooloo*, an island, or rather an archipelago of islands, north of the *Moluccas*, as given us by the intelligent Captain FORREST;

" List of articles that generally compose the cargo of a " Chinese junk, of which two come annually from *Amoy* " to *Sooloo*:

	Cost in *China*.	Selling price at *Sooloo*.
" 2000 galangs (salvars of brass) " seven to a picol . . dollars	40	70
" 100 picols iron, in small pieces, " like Bengal iron	4	8
" sugarcandy, a quantity, per " picol	7	10
" 50 raw silk, ditto	400	600
" 3000 pieces black kowsongs, a kind " of nankeen, per piece . . .	$0\frac{3}{4}$	
" 5000 pieces kompow, white strong " linen	$0\frac{3}{4}$	1
" 500 kangans, twenty-five in a bun- " dle, called gandangs, per " gandang	7	10
" 200 quallis, an iron thin pan, three " feet diameter each	1	2
" 500 nests of quallis, three in a nest . .	1	2

" One

On my former voyage, when I was at *Batavia*, I wanted very much to have ſeen the inſide of a Chineſe junk. Theſe are called here *wankon*, and as there was one lying alongſide of my ſhip in the road, I took the opportunity of gratifying my curioſity. As ſoon as I came on board, with the company that were with me, we were received with great politeneſs by the Chi-

	Coſt in *Sooloo*.	Selling price at *China*.
" One million pieces chinaware, per " hundred	1	2
" 200 pieces of flowered ſilks	6	10

" beſides tea, cutlery, and other hardware, braſs wire, gongs, " beads of all colours, fireworks, &c. &c.

" The returns are in the following articles:

	Coſt in *Sooloo*.	Selling price at *China*.
" Black ſwallow, per picol dollars	15	30
" white ditto	10	20
" wax	15	25
" teepye, or pearl oyſter-ſhells	1½	5
" birds' neſts, per catti	6	9

" Alſo tortoiſeſhell, agal agal, a ſeaweed uſed as gum, or " glue, and many other articles; ſuch as carooang-oil, clove-" bark, black wood, ratans, ſago, various barks for dying, " caſſia, pepper, native camphor, ſandalwood, curious ſhells " for grottos, pearls, ſeedpearl, and ſpices."

FORREST'S *Voyage to New Guinea, and the Moluccas*, page 325. *T.*

the

neſe chiefs, and tea, confectionery, and fruits, were ſet before us, previous to our taking a view of any thing. This veſſel carried three maſts, of which the largeſt and middlemoſt was nearly of the ſame thickneſs as the mainmaſt of my ſhip the *Ouwerkerk*, (a ſhip of one hundred and fifty feet in length), and it was made of one entire piece of timber. The length of the junk, from the exterior of the ſtern, to the extreme point of the head, was, according to my computation, one hundred and forty feet. The hull was ſeparated into as many different diviſions as there were merchants on board, each having a diſtinct place to ſtow his commodities in. The water was likewiſe diſtributed in ſeveral reſervoirs, and being ſtarted in bulk, was drawn up by buckets, through hatches which opened in the deck. The furnace for cooking was by the larboard ſide of the mainmaſt upon the deck; for theſe veſſels have but one deck; and we ſaw the victuals dreſſed there, in a much cleaner and neater manner, than is practiſed on board of European ſhips. At the ſtern were ſeveral tiers

tiers of little cabins, or huts, made of bamboos, as well for the officers of the veſſel, as for the merchants. Exactly in the middle between theſe, was the ſteerage, and in the center of it, was a ſort of chapel, in which their *joſs*, or idol, was placed; they bring every year a new one with them from *China*, which is then placed in their temple, and the old one of the former year is taken away, and carried back to *China*; and they never begin to land any part of the cargo, until the image of this idol, which is made of gold, and is about four inches high, has been ſent on ſhore out of the junk; both on board, and on ſhore, they continually burn lights and incenſe, and in the evening ſome ſilver paper, before the idol. The rudder is not attached to the veſſel by pintles and googings, but it is hung in ropes, made of cane, and is very different in ſhape from thoſe we uſe. Their anchors are crooked pieces of timber, to which heavy ſtones are tied, to make them ſink. The whole of their tackling, both cordage and ſails, is made of cane.

On the 15th of February my ſhip's company

pany were muſtered by the fiſcal and deputies from the council of juſtice of *Macaſſer*. Thirty-one hands belonging to the ſhip were left behind here in the hoſpital, moſt of whom were afflicted with bad ulcers on the legs, and had not been properly treated by the ſhip's ſurgeon, as the ſurgeon of the place gave us to underſtand; we received on board, in their room, ſeven-ſix other European ſailors.

The following day, at half paſt ſeven in morning, Mr. B. VAN PLEUREN, with his lady and two children, came on board, being, by appointment of the ſupreme Indian government, of the 7th of November, 1774, made governor of the province of *Amboyna*, after having had the chief adminiſtration as ſecond of the government of *Macaſſer*.

The ceremonies which were obſerved on the occaſion of his departure were as follows: at half paſt ſix o'clock the governor of *Macaſſer*, Mr. P. G. VAN DER VOORT, with all the members of the council of polity, thoſe who were married being accompanied by their ladies, came to the houſe of Mr. VAN PLEUREN, in order to

conduct him to the pierhead, where he was to embark, the garriſon being in the mean time under arms, and the drums beating a march: after having taken ſome refreſhments, the former walked with Mrs. VAN PLEUREN, and the latter with Mrs. VAN DER VOORT, followed by all the members of the council, from the fort to the pier, where a boat lay ready to convey Mr. VAN PLEUREN, his lady, his children, and the deputies from the government, on board. As ſoon as the boat put off, a ſalute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fort, which was anſwered by the Company's bark, the *Moſſel*, which was likewiſe deſtined to go to *Amboyna*, with nineteen, and by the other veſſels, both thoſe belonging to the Company, and thoſe of private perſons, with a leſſer number.

When Mr. VAN PLEUREN and his company were on board, a ſalute of twenty-one guns was fired by the *Ouwerkerk*, and at the laſt gun, the flag was hoiſted at the maſthead. We ſhortly afterwards weighed anchor, and ſteering between the reef of *Great Lyly* and the rock, we ſaluted the

fort

fort with one-and-twenty guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number: in half an hour afterwards, having got out to ſea, the deputies from the government returned on ſhore, and we ſaluted them with nine guns.

CHAPTER XIV.

Paſſage to, Amboyna.—Strait of TANAKEKE.—*View of* BONTAIN.—*The Iſland* SALEYER.—*The* BUDGEROONS.—*Propoſal for fortifying them.—View of the Iſlands* CABYNE—PASSANGANE—BOUTON.—*Account of the latter.—Contract of the King with the Dutch.—Extirpations of Spice-trees.—Dangerous Paſſage between* BOUTON *and the* TOUCAN-BESSIS.—DWAAL, *or* MISTAKE-*bay—View of the Iſland* BOURO.—*Account of it.—View of the Iſland* AMBLAUW.—*Of* AMBOYNA, *and ſix of the Iſlands belonging to it.—Strange Neglect with reſpect to Signal-flags.—Short Account of the Bay of* AMBOYNA.—*Anchorage in it.—Ceremonies upon the Arrival of the new Governor.*

AT three o'clock, P.M. we were conſtrained, by contrary winds and currents, to come to an anchor, cloſe to the iſland *Galiſſong*, where we lay that night.

The next day, being the 17th of February, we weighed anchor at daybreak, and ſet ſail, ſteering along the coaſt of *Celebes*, for the paſſage of *Tanakeke*, which we reached at ten o'clock, and about eleven, we had paſſed

paſſed the narroweſt and moſt dangerous part of it.

The ſpace between this iſland and that of *Celebes*, is, of itſelf, large enough, but the paſſage is narrowed, by more than one half of the diſtance over, by a reef which ſtretches out from *Tanakeke* towards *Celebes*, and by a ſunken rock, which lies about half a league s.w. from the point of *Sandraboni*. The depth in the paſſage is from twelve to ten fathoms. At ſunſet we had doubled the ſouthweſt extremity of *Celebes*.

At ſunriſe, on the following morning, we were abreaſt of *Bontain*, which is remarkable by its very high hills, being the termination of the range of mountains running through *Celebes* from north to ſouth. At the ſame time we came in ſight of the iſland *Saleyer*, and ſteered for the point of *Laſſoa*, which is the ſouthernmoſt land of *Celebes*. In the afternoon we ſaw the *Budgeroons* lying eaſt of us.

Theſe are three ſmall iſlands, which lie nearly in a line, in the direction of N.W. and S.E. They almoſt entirely block up the paſſage between the ſouthern part of *Celebes*, and the northern part of *Saleyer*, the whole

ſpace between which is about a league and a half. The northernmoſt and ſouthernmoſt of theſe iſlets lie, reſpectively, ſo cloſe to the point of *Laſsoa*, and to the north end of *Saleyer*, that there is no paſſage for ſhips between them and the larger iſlands, and not even for ſmall veſſels, but attended with danger; they therefore paſs this ſtrait between the ſouthernmoſt and middlemoſt, or between the latter and the northernmoſt, of the *Budgeroons*. Both theſe paſſages ſeemed to me, by the eye, to be about three-eighths of a league in breadth. The ſhores of the middlemoſt iſland are perfectly clear all round, and ſo very bold, that there is no ſoundings with a line of one hundred fathoms.

This is one of the moſt dangerous parts of the navigations for ſhips ſailing to, or from, the *Moluccas*, or the ſpice-iſlands, and there is no avoiding it without going round to the ſouth of *Saleyer*, which is a much more hazardous route, on account of the great number of ſhoals and ſunken rocks which abound there, and are either not laid down, or placed extremely inaccurately, in the charts; though I know of a recent inſtance

ſtance of a Company's ſhip, which was obliged to take that route, having been driven to leeward by the currents.

For this reaſon, I am ſurprized that the Company have not erected a few good batteries, provided with heavy artillery, upon the middlemoſt of the *Budgeroons*, in order to block up this paſſage to foreign veſſels, which muſt ſail cloſe under this iſland, and would, therefore, be forced to run under the guns of the batteries, whilſt they would have enough to do to work their ſails, and would not be able to return the fire. The objection which might be made to this plan, namely, that this ſpot does not afford any thing for the ſubſiſtence of the men who might be placed there, and perhaps not even that moſt neceſſary of articles, freſh water, is eaſily obviated, for the Company's reſidencies of *Boelecomba* and *Saleyer*, could conſtantly provide thoſe who were garriſoned here, with every thing they wanted; beſides, many men would not be required, for there could be no danger of ever being obliged to reſiſt the attack of an enemy upon the iſland; for it would be impoſſible for

a boat to land, if there were any battery upon it.

As ſoon as we had come within two cables' length of the middlemoſt iſland, in order to paſs between it and the northernmoſt, we were encountered by a ſtrong current ſetting with the utmoſt violence to the weſtward, ſo that we were obliged to aſſiſt the ſteering of the ſhip by manœuvring with the ſails. The current ran with ſuch force, that although we had a ſtiff gale nearly aft, and the ſhip ſeemed to advance upon the water, full five leagues, we made, in effect, little or no progreſs towards getting through the ſtrait. In about half an hour, however, the current decreaſed, and at eight o'clock, P.M. we had cleared this dangerous paſſage, and ſteered for the iſland of *Cabyne*.

In the mean time, a ſmall veſſel, which had been diſpatched by the reſident of *Bontain* and *Boelecomba*, with refreſhments for Mr. VAN PLEUREN, came alongſide of us, while we were ſtruggling with the force of the current; there was the greateſt danger of its being ſtove to pieces againſt the ſhip's

ſide

ſide by the violence of the rippling, and the Indians who were in it, caſt off the rope, and we thereby loſt one of our ſailors, who had been ordered into the boat to aſſiſt in handing over the things they brought. As ſoon as the veſſel fell aſtern ſhe ſteered for *Saleyer*, and we very ſoon loſt ſight of her.

On the following morning at ſunriſe, we ſaw the iſland *Cabyne*, bearing E.N.E. and E. by. N. eight or ten leagues: we were ſtill likewiſe in ſight of the coaſt of *Celebes*, and of the iſland *Saleyer*. We ſteered for the ſouthern point of *Cabyne*; but we were prevented by calms from coming abreaſt of it, till the 21ſt of February, when we alſo got ſight of the iſlands *Paſſangane* and *Bouton*, which form the ſtraits of *Bouton*.

Bouton is a large, middling high, and woody iſland. It is a kingdom of itſelf, to which the neighbouring iſlands likewiſe belong. The king of *Bouton* is in alliance with the Company, who pay him a yearly ſum of one hundred and fifty rixdollars in new Dutch coin, upon condition that he ſhould not only permit the extirpation by the Company of all the clovetrees in this

and

and the neighbouring iſlands, but alſo aſſiſt them in effecting it. For this purpoſe, the Company annually ſend out a ſerjeant, who is ſtyled the *extirpator*, and who goes through the woods in all the iſlands, and cauſes all the clovetrees which he meets with to be cut down. The king of *Bouton* is obliged to provide him guides and interpreters, as likewiſe with veſſels, if he ſtand in need of them. But, as for ſeveral years, he has been very negligent in fulfilling his engagements, and has ſeveral times, upon various pretences, hindered the extirpator in his ſearch after the ſpicetrees, the government in India have thought fit to withhold the abovementioned pecuniary allowance this year, in order to try, by that means, whether the fear of loſing this annual revenue (for one hundred and fifty rixdollars, or three hundred and ſixty gilders, * is really a conſiderable ſum in the treaſury of this prince) will not ſuffice to make him ſtick more cloſely to his contract, and be more active in aſſiſting the Company to deſtroy this rich production in his country, for the benefit of *Amboyna* and *Banda*.

* 32*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* ſterling. *T.*

By

By the calm weather which accompanied us from *Cabyne*, till we were without the *Toucan-beſſis*, which is a diſtance that is commonly ſailed over in one day, or in a day and a half, it was not till the 26th of February that we could accompliſh this part of the navigation. We had no violent currents, either for or againſt us, though we met with ſome, but they neither held any regular courſe, nor did the moon ſeem to have the leaſt influence upon them.

The paſſage between the iſland *Bouton* and the *Toucan-beſſis* is the ſecond dangerous part of the navigation for ſhips going to the *Moluccas*, or ſpice-iſlands. The channel is, it is true, wider than that of the *Budgeroons*, for, by my calculation, it is about four leagues over, from the neareſt part of *Bouton* to the weſternmoſt of the *Toucan-beſſis*, but the danger is of longer duration, by the numerous little iſlands which form the cluſter called the *Toucan-beſſis*, all of them either connected or ſurrounded by rocky ſhoals, over and between which very rapid currents ſet ſtrongly to the eaſtward: a great and dangerous flat called the *Hoefyzer*, or *Horſeſhoe*, lies one and a half,

or

or two leagues ſouth of them, upon which many veſſels of the Company have been wrecked.

Along the ſhore of *Bouton*, there is, indeed, no danger to avoid but the land itſelf, but in the narroweſt part of the paſſage begins a large bay, which runs into the land, weſt and north, into which there is much danger of being drawn by the currents which ſet into the bay, if the point oppoſite to the *Toucan-beſſis* be approached too near in calm weather; and if you have once fallen into the bay, there is no getting out till the weſt monſoon ſets in again, and it may even be conſidered a fortunate circumſtance to ſucceed in getting out then: ſome of the Company's ſhips that have been drifted in, have been five or ſix months before their repeated attempts to get out have ſucceeded; and among other inſtances, when Mr. DE CLERK went as governor to *Banda*, he was detained a whole year in this vexatious gulph, before he could proſecute his voyage; our navigators have, on this account, given it the appropriate name of *Dwaal*, or *Miſtake-bay*.

The two principal of the *Toucan-beſſis* iſlands

iſlands lie, by the eye, about half a league N.N.E. and S.S.W. from each other; I ſaw the northernmoſt, which is the higheſt, at the diſtance of nine leagues; they are inhabited by a people who do not ſuffer any ſtrangers, and eſpecially no Europeans, among them.

On the evening of the 1ſt of March, at ſunſet, we diſcovered the iſland *Bouro*, bearing E.N.E. full thirteen or fourteen leagues off by computation.

This iſland is of an oval ſhape, the longeſt diameter of which extends eaſt and weſt. Part of its northern coaſt is inhabited by a people who are ſubjects of the Company, and are governed by their *oran cayos*, who have each a *dap*, or deputy, under them. The interior parts, which conſiſt of very high mountains, are the haunts of the Alforeſe, or wild mountaineers. The ſouth coaſt is now deſerted, on account of the continual invaſions of the Papuas.

The Company have a ſmall fortreſs in the bay of *Cagely*, at the northeaſt end of the iſland. A bookkeeper, who belongs to the eſtabliſhment of *Amboyna*, is the chief there.

On

On the 4th of the ſame month we ſaw the iſland *Amblauw*, which lies about two leagues ſouth from the eaſt point of *Bouro*. It is but thinly inhabited. A corporal and four men were formerly ſtationed here to defend the inhabitants from the incurſions of the Papuas *; but at preſent, there are no Europeans upon the iſland. It now belongs to the ſettlement of *Larike* upon the iſland of *Amboyna*, whereas it formerly was reckoned an appurtenance of *Bouro*.

On the 6th of March we weathered this iſland, and ſaw *Amboyna* at a diſtance, bearing E.N.E.

The next day, at ſunriſe, we were in ſight of ſix iſlands belonging to the government of *Amboyna*, namely, *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Kelang*, *Manipa*, *Bouro*, and *Amblauw*; and,

* In March and April, the Papuas of *New Guinea* and the iſlands *Salwatty*, *Aroo*, and *Myſol*, are apt to aſſemble in great numbers; and make war on *Gilolo*, *Ceram*, *Amboyna*, *Bouro*, *Amblauw*, and as far as *Xulla-beſſy*. About the year 1765, the Papuas plundered the iſland of *Amblauw*, and carried off many of the inhabitants. In 1770, upon an incurſion of a number of the Papua boats, who ſailed up the ſtrait of *Patientia*, which divides *Batchian* from *Gilolo*, the Dutch took the Rajah of *Salwatty* priſoner, and he was ſent into baniſhment to the *Cape of Good Hope*. *T.*

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an hour afterwards, we likewiſe ſaw the iſland *Bonoa*; we ſteered for the point of *Alang*, which is the weſtern extremity of *Amboyna*.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we got ſight of the enſign at the factory of *Larike*, ſituated on the weſt coaſt of *Hitoe*, which is the northern peninſula of *Amboyna*, and on approaching *Larike* to within half a league, we were ſaluted by the fort with thirteen guns, which we anſwered with five.

Hence we ſailed, at the diſtance of a cable's length from the ſhore, to the point of *Alang*, where we ſaw the ſignal flag of recognizance for my ſhip flying, about five o'clock; this was red above, and white below; and, on the other hand, the ſignal flag which we ſhould have hoiſted in return, was to have been, agreeably to the ſealed inſtructions given me at *Batavia*, one with three horizontal ſtripes, red, white, and red; but ſuch a flag had been totally neglected to be put on board at *Batavia*: the like occurrence happened to me before, when I ſailed to *Bengal*, in the year 1769. Of what uſe are ſignal flags of recogni-

zance,

zance, if one is unprepared to hoiſt the anſwering ſignal? A ſhip's captain can never himſelf take the neceſſary care to be prepared for them; for the letter of inſtructions, containing theſe ſecret-ſignals, is put into his hands ſealed, with directions not to open it till in a certain latitude; as in *this inſtance*, I was not to open mine, till I had made the iſland *Bouro*.

Having got to about an eighth of a league from the point of *Alang*, the pilot of *Amboyna* came on board of us, with a written order from the governor of the province to pilot the ſhip into the bay.

This bay, which is formed by two large peninſulas, *Hitoe* and *Leytimor*, connected together, to the eaſtward, by a very narrow iſthmus, called the *Paſs of Baguewala*, and which conſtitute the iſland of *Amboyna*, is, at the entrance, between the points of *Alang* on *Hitoe* and *Noſanipe* on *Leytimor*, which lie eaſt and weſt from each other, ſcarcely two marine leagues over, and it gradually narrows as it goes farther in. It is only in ſome parts of it that there is any anchoring-ground, and then it is at no more than one cable's length from the ſhore,

ſhore, in thirty and more fathoms water; nearly the whole of the remainder is without ſoundings, not even with a line of one hundred fathoms: a conſtant current likewiſe ſets into the bay on one ſide, and out again on the other: this makes it very difficult to enter, eſpecially if you have not a leading wind: if you are becalmed, which is not unfrequently the caſe under the lee of high land, and get into the ſtream that runs out to ſea, you are ſoon driven entirely out of the bay by it, and may be in danger of being drifted to leeward of the iſland, and thereby of loſing the voyage entirely. The place where the ſhips anchor is cloſe to the Leytimor ſhore, under the guns of Fort *Victoria*, in twenty-five fathoms; it is three-fourths of a cable's length from the ſhore, and there is no ground a ſhip's length farther out.

We plied to and fro the whole of the following night, in order to work farther up the bay, the wind being N.E. and thus in our teeth.

On the morning of the 8th of March, at daybreak, we found ourſelves about half a league from the point of *Alang*, ſo that we

had advanced but little. The ſmall veſſels, which are called *corrocorros* and *orembays* *, ten or twelve of which had come to our aſſiſtance in the night, to tow us in, had been of very little ſervice; for the ſlighteſt puff of wind moved the ſhip faſter than they could row or paddle.

At noon we were at the *Laha*, which is a point that runs out from *Hitoe*, one Dutch mile from Fort *Victoria*: at two o'clock the deputies from the government at *Amboyna*, namely, the ſenior merchant, and ſecond, VILLENEUVE, and the fiſcal, SCHILLING, accompanied by the lady of the latter, and the lady of the captain commandant of the

* A *corrocorro* is a veſſel fitted with outriggers, having an high-arched ſtem and ſtern, like the points of a half-moon. They are chiefly uſed by the inhabitants of the *Molucca* iſlands, and the Dutch have fleets of them at *Amboyna*, which they employ as guardacoſtas. They have them from a very ſmall ſize, to above ten tons burthen. On the croſs-pieces, which ſupport the outriggers, are often put, fore and aft, planks, on which the people ſit and paddle, beſides thoſe who ſit in the veſſel on each gunnel. In ſmooth water they can be paddled very faſt, as many hands may be employed in different ranks, or rows. They are ſteered with two commoodies (broad paddles) and not with a rudder. When they are high out of the water they uſe oars; but on the outriggers they always uſe paddles. An *orembay* we conceive to be a ſmall *corrocorro*, without outriggers. T.

military,

military, VAN DER BRINKE, came on board, in order to congratulate the governor upon his ſafe arrival thus far, and to conduct him and his lady on ſhore.

We ſoon afterwards had a freſh breeze from the N.W. which carried us at three o'clock to the road, where we dropt our anchor in twenty-five fathoms, ſandy bottom. We ſaluted the fort with twenty-one guns, and were anſwered with the ſame number; at four o'clock Mr. VAN PLEUREN went on ſhore, with his family and the deputies, in a country-boat, upon the maſt of which a flag, with a pendant under it, was hoiſted, and we again ſaluted with twenty-one guns.

As ſoon as his excellency landed, he was received upon the pier by the ex-governor, VAN DER V——, together with the other members of the council of polity, with their ladies, and paſſing through a double file of native burghers, or mardykers, who were drawn up before the gate of the fort, he went into it, and out again at the landgate, where the whole garriſon ſtood under arms, and where likewiſe the Chineſe ſtood ranged in order with their little flags, to the houſe of Go-

vernor VAN DER V——. As ſoon as he was ſeated, the garriſon fired three volleys, which was each time anſwered by a gun from the fort, as was alſo done upon the three volleys of the burghers, after which, a few more guns were fired from the fort, which concluded the ceremony of the day.

CHAP-

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Account of AMBOYNA.—*Iſthmus of* BAGUEWALA.—*Project for cutting through it.*—*Abandoned when half completed.*—*Deſcription of the Bay of* AMBOYNA.—*Its natural Strength.*—*Difficulty of anchorage.*—*Road of Fort* VICTORIA.—*Currents ſetting in and out of the Bay.*—*Peninſulas of* LEYTIMOR *and* HITOE.—*Their Soil and Appearance.*

THE province of *Amboyna*, which is the firſt in rank among the poſſeſſions of the Company in India, becauſe it was the firſt which was ſubdued by their arms, comprizes eleven iſlands, both great and ſmall, or twelve, if the little iſland of *Molina* be taken into the account; theſe are, *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Bouro*, *Amblauw*, *Manipa*, *Kelang*, *Bonoa*, *Ceram-laut*, *Nouſſa-laut*, *Honimoa*, or

Sapparoua, and *Oma*, or *Harocha*; the three laſt of which are likewiſe called the *Uliaſſers*.

As, however, VALENTYN has been very ample in his account of this province, for which he had the beſt opportunities, as he reſided in it for ſeveral years, and, as his work is to be met with in moſt libraries *, I ſhall confine myſelf to ſome ſhort remarks, and to ſome particulars which I thought worthy of obſervation, and committed to paper, while I was there.

According to my own obſervation, the middle of the iſland of *Amboyna* lies in 3° 45′ ſouth latitude, and 145° eaſt of *Teneriffe*. It conſiſts of two peninſulas connected together by a narrow iſthmus of about three hundred and ſixty roods acroſs, which is called the Paſs of *Baguewala*, from a village, or negree, ſtanding near it, upon the peninſula of *Hitoe*, over againſt the negree of *Hoetoemoeroe*, upon that of *Leytimor*, which are the names given to the two peninſulas conſtituting the iſland of *Amboyna*.

* The work here alluded to, is a deſcription and hiſtory of the Eaſt-Indies, in Dutch, in five volumes folio, publiſhed at *Amſterdam* in 1724. *T.*

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As the ſmall veſſels which go from the fort to the *Uliaſſers*, muſt, on account of this paſs, or iſthmus, take a great circuit, or elſe be dragged over it, Mr. PADBRUGGE, the governor of this province, about the year 1683, formed a deſign of cutting through the iſthmus entirely; nature ſeemed, as it were, to have pointed out the propriety of doing this, by the branch of a little river, which runs out of *Hitoe*, and is called *Matta-paſſo*, or the *eye of the paſs*, by the natives. The work was begun, from that place, to the eaſtward right acroſs the iſthmus, and it would ſoon have been crowned with complete ſucceſs, had not two idle fancies have been the cauſe of its interruption: the firſt was, that an idea was ſtarted, that as ſoon as this cut ſhould be effected, the currents would fall through it with ſuch violence into the bay of *Amboyna*, that the *Kaaimanſhoek*, or *Alligators* Point, which is a point of land, projecting far out from *Hitoe*, about the middle of the bay, would be waſhed away, and that ſhips would in conſequence be no more able to come near the fort; the other was, that the Amboyneſe, who were employed in the

work, refuſed to proceed farther with it, becauſe they made one another believe that in digging blood had been found to iſſue from the earth, which was an infallible ſign of fatal conſequences; and, however ridiculous the latter might be, it was not, by any means, poſſible to get them to go on. The former objection was ſcarcely leſs abſurd, as it appears undeniably, that the ſea, eaſtward of the paſs, is not at all more elevated than the water in the bay of *Amboyna*, as the intelligent engineer VON WAGNER, who has accurately ſurveyed both ſhores, has found, and aſſured me. There was thus not the leaſt probability that the currents could have fallen through this opening, and have had the evil effect which was ſo groundleſsly apprehended. This work of public utility, and of particular advantage to the Company, was therefore ſtopped, and no one has ſince thought of undertaking it anew; although Mr. VON WAGNER has even told me, that he has frequently demonſtrated how eaſy the cut could be completed, there being now no more than about ninety roods of land to cut through, yet always to no purpoſe.

The arm of the ſea, which is now included

cluded between theſe two peninſulas, bears the appellation of the *Bay of Amboyna*. I do not believe that there is any harbour in the world which is naturally ſo ſtrong as this. From the point of *Alang* to the *Paſs of Baguewala* it is about five leagues, but from the point of *Nouſſanivel* to the ſame ſpot, ſcarcely three and a half leagues, deep: the breadth is unequal; it is narroweſt between the point of the *Laba* and the oppoſite *Galghoek* or *Gallows* Point, where it is about one Dutch mile over, and between the *Kaaimans*, or *Alligators* Point, and that which projects eaſt of the land of little *Hativa*, where, at low water, by means of a rocky ſhoal on the *Leytimor*, and a ſand on the *Hitoe*, ſide, the paſſage is ſo contracted, that adventurous perſons have, more than once, croſſed it on horſeback, although the water between them is full eighty fathoms deep.

The direction of the bay, according to that in which the two peninſulas lie, which bend round and meet each other at the paſs, is N.E. and S.W.

The point of *Alang*, or the weſt point,

on

on *Hitoe*, and that of *Nouſſanivel*, corruptly called *Noſanipe* by our ſeamen, or the eaſt point of the bay, lie about two leagues E.½S. and W.½N. from each other.

From the point of *Alang*, or paſt *Lilliboi*, to the point of the *Laha*, there is no anchoring-ground at all, except cloſe to the rocks which border the whole length of the ſhore, and upon which, eſpecially in the eaſt monſoon, a tremendous high ſurf continually breaks; but juſt paſt the point of the *Laha*, there is an inlet, or bay (*Laha* in the Amboyneſe language ſignifying a bay), in which a fleet of five-and-twenty ſhips can anchor in ſafety, particularly in the weſt monſoon, in twenty-five and thirty fathoms, good ſand ground; the anchorage is about a piſtolſhot from the ſhore, where, in caſe of neceſſity, ſhips may likewiſe be carcened. This was the place where the Dutch fleet, under command of their admiral STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN, lay at anchor, when, the day afterwards, they croſſed the bay, and took the Portugueſe fort.

From this inlet to the *Kaeinans* Point, there is again no anchorage, except upon the edge

edge of the beforementioned ſand, yet, in caſe of need, one might anchor near the paſs, cloſe to the *Matta-paſſo*.

On the oppoſite ſhore, along *Leytimor*, there is, without-ſide the bay, about half a league beyond the point of *Nouſſanivel*, a reef of about one league in length, on which one may likewiſe caſt anchor, in caſes of neceſſity, when apprehenſions are entertained of being driven paſt the bay by the currents, in twenty, eighteen, and fifteen fathoms, ſand ground. This anchoring-place, which is of great importance to the ſhips bound to *Amboyna*, is not laid down in the Company's charts of theſe parts, perhaps intentionally; but it is inſerted in that which is found in VALENTYN's work: I alſo ſaw it pointed out in the laſt map which has been made of the bay of *Amboyna*. When I was at *Amboyna*, in the month of April, 1775, I ſaw a Chineſe veſſel lying at anchor upon it. Between the reef, however, and the land which forms the point of *Nouſſanivel*, the depth is again fathomleſs, and the ſhore is bold and rocky.

Paſt this point, on the inſide of *Leytimor*, there is a bend, the deepeſt part of which

which affords good anchorage, in the eaſt monſoon, but it is only quite cloſe to the ſhore. This is called the Portugueſe-bay, but I am ignorant why this name has been given to it.

Thence, till paſt the *Galgboek*, or *Gallows* Point, there is no tolerable anchorage; but you then come to the *Vrymans*, or *free merchants'*, road, which is juſt paſt that point, whence a ſmall rocky reef projects out into the channel; you muſt be particularly careful not to anchor too near to the point, for worms are ſo abundant at and near it, that in leſs than a month's time, not only the ſheathing, but likewiſe the planks of the veſſel's bottom, are completely eat through.

Upon this follows the road of Fort *New Victoria*, but here the anchoring-ground is equally cloſe in ſhore; for directly before the fort, and at one and a half cable's length off, there is no bottom with a line of ſeventy fathoms.

From this place to the point of little *Hativa* the ſhore is guarded by an uninterrupted range of ſunken rocks, which prevent all approach, and from theſe to the

paſs,

paſs, there is likewiſe no riſing bottom, except cloſe to the ſhore. In the middle of the bay there are no ſoundings with a line of eighty, or one hundred fathoms.

The nature of this bay conſtitutes the ſtrength of the iſland. It is only in a few parts of it that there is any anchorage, and then always quite cloſe to the ſhore; and it would be a difficult matter for an enemy's fleet to enter it, and much more ſo to block it up. The *Laba* is the only place where ſhips can aſſemble, and this may be made ſo ſtrong that all fear of its being availed of might be diſmiſſed; this has, indeed, now been determined upon, as I ſhall have occaſion to notice farther on.

No rocks, or ſands, are to be met with in this bay, ſave thoſe which have been mentioned, and which lie near the ſhore.

As there is nothing of this kind to avoid, the whole art, therefore, of ſailing into, or out of, the bay, or of working into it, conſiſts herein, namely, always to keep well in with the windward ſhore, and never to fall farther off from it than midchannel. The windward ſhore is *Hitoe*, in the good or weſt monſoon,

monſoon, and *Leytimor* in the bad or eaſt monſoon.

The currents here are not regular; neither has the moon any conſtant, or equal, influence upon the tides; high and low water ſometimes occur once, and ſometimes twice, in four-and-twenty hours; the difference is from ſix to nine feet: one or two days before the full moon, the water is found to riſe the higheſt, and fall the loweſt.

It is a natural conſequence of this deep bay, although at *Amboyna* it is thought ſomething very ſingular, that, when the current ſets into it along *Hitoe*, it muſt run out, in an oppoſite direction, along *Leytimor*, and *vice verſa* in the contrary caſe.

Both the peninſulas, as well *Leytimor* as *Hitoe*, are very mountainous: on the former, the ſummits of *Soya*, and on the latter, thoſe of *Capaha*, tower above the reſt; they are almoſt entirely overgrown with trees and underwood, between which, at intervals, ſome clove-trees are planted and cultivated by the Amboyneſe. Theſe mountains, like moſt others, are in general rocky,

and

and covered with a ſtratum of earth, the depth of which is very various; in ſome places it is no more than three feet, or leſs, in others, it is twenty, or more, feet in depth; the ſoil is moſtly a reddiſh clay, and in the valleys, where there are no rocks, it is a little more blackiſh, and mixed with more particles of ſand.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

Climate of AMBOYNA.—*Monſoons.*—*Rivers.*—*Hills impregnated with Sulphur.*—*Soil.*—*Productions.*—*Plants.*—*Herbs.*—*Trees.*—*Cloves.*—*Extirpations of Clove-trees.*—*Cuſtom of the Amboyneſe to plant a Clove-tree upon the birth of a Child.*—*Nutmegs.*—*Cultivation of Pepper and Indigo.*—*Sugar and Coffee might likewiſe be produced.*

THIS, as well as all the other of the Company's poſſeſſions in the *Moluccas*, is ſituated in the torrid zone. During the three months which I ſpent at *Amboyna*, the medium height of a Fahrenheit's thermometer was between 80° and 82°; the greateſt heat was 91°, and the ſevereſt cold 72°; a difference which, in theſe parts, is ſo conſiderable, that if ſuch changes were to occur every day, it would, in my opinion, be exceedingly prejudicial to the conſtitution of the body: this is greatly occaſioned by the high mountains of *Soya*, at the foot of which Fort *New Victoria*, and the town of *Amboyna*

boyna are ſituated, whereby the rays of the ſun are impeded from ſhining upon theſe places, till it has been three quarters of an hour above the horizon; and on the other hand, at noon, when the ſun is to the north of the line, as was the caſe during my abode there, and its rays ſtrike againſt theſe mountains, which form, as it were, an amphitheatre, it cannot be, but that the heat muſt be greatly encreaſed by the reverberation; at leaſt, when I was at the *Laha*, which lies in a level plain on the oppoſite ſide, I did not perceive the exceſſive heat, which is felt at the fort.

The changes which occur, with reſpect to the weight of the atmoſphere, are not ſo great; during my ſtay of three months, they could ſcarcely be ſaid to amount to two lines, or to one-ſixth of an inch; neither rain, wind, or fine weather, ſeemed to have any influence in this reſpect.

The monſoons are exactly the contrary here, to what they are along the iſlands of *Java*, *Borneo*, *Bali*, *Lomboc*, *Sumbawa*, the weſt coaſt of *Celebes*, &c.; for when the ſoutheaſt monſoon prevails at thoſe places, it is accompanied by fine, dry, and pleaſant

weather, on which account this ſeaſon is called the good monſoon: whereas it is then the bad ſeaſon at *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, *Banda*, the eaſt coaſt of *Celebes*, and in the countries and ſeas lying between them; it then rains almoſt inceſſantly, accompanied by violent thunder and lightning, and ſudden whirlwinds, to which I have frequently been witneſs at *Amboyna*; but all this ceaſes, and turns to the fineſt weather, upon having paſſed the ſtrait which ſeparates *Saleyer* from *Celebes*.

Many rivers precipitate themſelves into the bay of *Amboyna*, from the mountains, though they only deſerve that appellation during the rainy, or bad, monſoon; for in the good ſeaſon they are mere rivulets, and many of them are nearly dry. I was witneſs to the remarkable difference occaſioned in them by the time of the year; for on my arrival, when the dry ſeaſon was not over, the four rivers, which run into the ſea, near the town and the adjacent villages, namely the *Way Tome*, the *Way Alla*, the *Way Nito*, and the *Bato Gadja*, or *Elephant*'s river, were, at that time, no more than rivulets, in which there was ſcarcely two or three feet water, but

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at my departure, the continual heavy rains had ſo ſwelled them, that they carried away in one night the ſtrongeſt and largeſt bridges, thirty and more feet in length, that were thrown over them, or at leaſt damaged them very conſiderably.

Minerals are not met with here, though ſome of the hills yield abundance of good brimſtone, with which their whole ſurface is incruſtated. There is one, in particular, on the peninſula of *Hitoe*, which is famous on that account, and is thence called *Wawani*, or *Brimſtone*-hill. The hills likewiſe to the north of *Soeli* begin, as it is ſaid, to yield ſulphur.

A tough reddiſh clay is found in ſome parts, of which bricks are made, which are as good as thoſe made in Holland.

Salutary plants and medicinal herbs are not wanting here, with which, I was told, many diſorders and infirmities are cured. Amongſt others the *boati* * is ſaid to have a ſingular

* The *Boa-ati*, which ſignifies *heart-fruit-tree*, becauſe its fruit is in the ſhape of a heart, is called by the Ternateſe *Soolamoo*, denoting a *panacea*, or *univerſal medicine*, being held as a ſovereign remedy in almoſt all diſorders by the Indians;

a ſingular antifebrile efficacy. Then there is the *cajeput*-tree *, from the leaves of which the hot and ſtrong oil, called cajeput-oil, is diſtilled. The *ſaſſafras*-tree †, the bark of which yields the coſtly *Coelilawang* ‡, and

its fruit is ſo extremely bitter, that it is generally called the *king of bitterneſs*; VALENYTN ſays, that, infuſed in brandy, or other ſpirits, it is good for colic, pleuriſy, and other diſorders; and that when uſed for an ague, four or five of the kernels are taken: it is alſo uſed with ſucceſs as an antidote againſt poiſon, acting, in the firſt inſtance, as a ſtrong emetic: THUNBERG ſays it is uſed pounded, in the colic, both by the Malays, and the Javaneſe. *T.*

* *Malaleuca leucadendra.* VALENTYN deſcribes four different ſorts of *cajeput*, or properly *cajoe poeteh*-trees, ſignifying *white-wood-trees*; it is from the *little cajoe-poeteh*-tree, that the oil in queſtion is diſtilled; Dr. THUNBERG calls it a famous and excellent oil; when taken internally, it is a great ſudorific, and five or ſix drops is the largeſt doſe that is given; externally applied, it is excellent in all caſes of ſtiffneſs, or palſy. *T.*

† *Laurus ſaſſafras*, but a different ſpecies from the *ſaſſafras*-tree of *America*. *T.*

‡ *Coelit-lawang* is the Amboyneſe name of the tree, and ſignifies clove-bark, and the Engliſh likewiſe call the bark by the ſame appellation of clove-bark; it is of a greyiſh caſt, and when upon the tree is ſmooth, but when dried it becomes rough and ſhrivelled; it is red within, and that taken from the bottom of the tree has a ſtrong clove ſmell and taſte, but higher up it is not ſo ſtrong, and is more aſtringent; it is dried in the ſun, and muſt be kept in an airy place; it is much

more

and its roots the ſaſſafras-oil. Not to ſay any thing of the clove and nutmeg-trees, for which this iſland and the *Uliaſſers* are famous.

The wood which is called *Amboyna*-wood, or properly *Lingoa*-wood *, is moſtly produced

more eſteemed than the *Maſſoy*-bark, though its flavour and ſmell ſooner decay. The very excellent and penetrating oil extracted from this bark, is almoſt as fine as oil of cloves, and poſſeſſes the ſame qualities: the Dutch Company reſerved to themſelves the extraction of *cuelit-lawang* oil, and prohibited individuals from diſtilling it, upon a penalty of five hundred rixdollars. T.

* Of the *Lingoa*-wood VALENTYN deſcribes three ſorts, the red, the white, and the ſtone-hard *lingoa*. The red *lingoa* is a high and ſtately tree, with a thick trunk, ſmooth ſappy branches, and long leaves of a bright green colour. Many limbs of the root appear above ground, and theſe afford the moſt beautiful pieces of timber. The wood of the tree is whitiſh immediately under the bark, but grows red towards the center, and is of ſo deep a tint, that it has by ſome been taken for red ſandal-wood, though it is much coarſer grained; it has a pleaſant ſpicy ſmell, and is ſometimes made up into ſmall articles; but, together with the white *lingoa*, it is more generally uſed for rafters, and beams in houſes, and for all kinds of carpentering. The white *lingoa* has a larger and longer leaf, the wood is of a much paler hue, and of a more open and coarſer texture. The third ſort, or ſtone-*lingoa*, has a ſmaller and rounder leaf, and is a much harder and cloſer-grained wood than either of the others; it is ſeldom met with but in the high mountains of *Ceram*; it is a very heavy wood,

duced in *Ceram*; as is the *Salmoni*-wood *, which is yet more beautiful, but is too ſcarce to be uſed for building, the timber for which is moſtly brought from *Java*, though the *Jati*-wood † is likewiſe propagated here with tolerable ſucceſs; but a ſufficient quantity has not yet been reared, to ſupercede the neceſſity of a ſupply of timber from *Java*.

There are many other ſpecies of wood, beſides the above, the half of which I am

and ſinks like a ſtone in water. The *lingoa*-wood is ſuſceptible of the higheſt poliſh, and its beautiful appearance, when manufactured, is deſcribed by VALENTYN in the moſt glowing colours. *T.*

* The *Salmoni*, or *Salemoeli*-tree, as VALENTYN calls it, affords a moſt beautiful wood; it reſembles walnut-tree-wood in colour, but is veined and variegated in a much handſomer manner; the planks obtained from it are ſeldom more than one foot and a half in breadth, though ſometimes ſome are got of two, and two and a half, feet broad, and four feet long. It is alſo called baſtard-ebony. *T.*

† The *jati*, or teak-tree, as it is called in the weſtern parts of India, has its firſt name from a Javaneſe word, ſignifying *durable*. It is the pride of the eaſtern woods, and one of the higheſt and largeſt trees of the foreſt. There are two ſorts, which, by the timber they yield, are diſtinguiſhed by the names of male and female; the former is the darkeſt in hue, and very veiny; it is eaſier to be wrought than the latter, which is paler and leſs veiny. *T.*

entirely

entirely unacquainted with; they are amply deſcribed by VALENTYN.*

* "A conception may be formed," ſays VALENTYN, "of "the great plenty of timber-trees of all kinds at *Amboyna*, for "the conſtruction of ſhips and houſes, and for the fineſt and "moſt coſtly articles of furniture, from the circumſtance that "Mr. RUMPHIUS (author of the *Hortus Amboinenſis*) had "procured a little cabinet to be made, which was inlaid with "nearly four hundred ſorts of only the choiceſt and hand-"ſomeſt woods, and which, together with other curioſities, "that gentlemen ſent as a preſent, in the year 1682, to the "great Duke of *Tuſcany*, COSMO the Third. If then there "are ſo many ſorts of fine and choice woods fit for ve-"neering, how many muſt not the common ſorts be!" He particularly deſcribes a great number, among which are ſeveral different ſpecies of the ebony-tree; the iron-tree; the caſuarina; the wild clove-tree; the *ſamama* tree, which is a baſtard ſort of teak; the *nani*-tree, which yields a timber that is almoſt imperiſhable; the Chineſe uſe it for anchors and rudders; it withſtands all weathers, and yields but ſlowly to the powerful agency of fire; it is, however, on account of its hardneſs, very difficult to be wrought: the *cajoe-languit*-tree, which has received the proud title of the *tree of heaven*, or of *the firmament*, as it ſeems to lift its lofty and ſpreading ſummit to the clouds; &c. At the concluſion of his account of the trees of *Amboyna*, he aſſures the reader, that the moſt laborious exertion of a long life would not ſuffice to become acquainted with all the trees which grow on the lofty and woody mountains, the extenſive and impenetrable foreſts, of *Amboyna*, and that the vaſt number which he has noticed, ſeventy-two of which he gives repreſentations of, are but a ſmall portion of the whole. T.

Of the products of the country, considered as articles of trade, the first rank is occupied by its staple commodity, cloves. The tree * on which they grow, is too well, and

* *Caryophyllus.* The clove is produced on a very handsome tree, somewhat resembling a large pear-tree; its stem is straight, and at the distance of five feet from the ground its branches begin; the bark is thin and smooth, and adheres closely to the wood; the wood is heavy and hard; the leaves stand two and two opposite, they are about a handbreadth in length, and two inches broad, pointed, ribbed and reddish on the upper, but smooth and of a bright green colour on the under side, they have a very aromatic smell when bruised between the fingers. When a tree is nine years old, and has been well attended to, it begins to yield cloves; they appear in the beginning of the rainy season; they are then little dark-green longish buds, and become perfect cloves in shape in the month of August, or September; they then turn yellow, and afterwards red, which is the time for gathering them; if they are suffered to remain three or four weeks longer, they swell and become what are called mother-cloves, which are proper for propagation, or for candying, but not for drying as a spice. The cloves grow on separate stalks, but in bunches of three or more together. VALENTYN describes four sorts: that which he calls the male clove, is the sort used for drying; the female produces cloves of a pale colour, which are the best for extracting of oil; the king's clove is a very scarce species, bearing larger and double cloves; he mentions one tree of this kind that stood in the island *Machian*, and a few others that were discovered in 1668, and 1682, in *Hative* and in *Hitoe*: the fourth sort are called rice-cloves;

and too minutely deſcribed by VALENTYN, than that I ſhould be required to do it here.

Two large crops of cloves never ſucceed each other; if the crop be one year very large, that of the next year will be ſmall: the firſt generally takes place in uncommon dry ſeaſons; and epidemical fevers are then very prevalent.

When the cloves are almoſt ripe, they muſt be ſoon gathered, or they ſhoot out in a few days, into mother-cloves. The cloves which are dried over the fire, inſtead of in the ſun, are not good; theſe may be diſtinguiſhed by their colour, being more inclining to black, and that they bend be-

cloves; they are very ſmall, but likewiſe very rare: the clove produced upon the wild clove-tree, has no kind of ſpicyneſs. At the time of gathering the cloves, the ground is carefully ſwept under the trees, that none may be loſt; they are generally pulled off by long hooks. The uſual time of the clove-crop is in October, and it laſts till December. The oil of cloves is well known in the Materia Medica; an hundred weight of cloves uſed to be employed in former times to procure a quart of oil, but that quantity is now drawn from forty pounds, though it is in conſequence not ſo powerful: the extraction of the oil is ſtrictly prohibited by the Dutch Company to all individuals. T.

tween

tween the fingers; while thoſe which are properly dried, are, on the contrary, not flexible, but brittle, and ſnap aſunder upon being filliped with the finger; they are alſo of a reddiſh caſt.

The crop of cloves depends much upon the temperature of the weather, in the months of June and September. An after-crop is ſometimes made, but the time is uncertain, and it does not often happen.

Although this ſpice is not an indigenous production of *Amboyna*, but a native of the *Molucca* iſlands proper, whence it was brought hither ſome centuries ago *, it proſpers exceedingly

* A ſhort time before the coming of the Portugueſe in *Amboyna*, the Cerammers of *Cambello* ſecretly brought ſome mother-cloves in hollow bamboos from *Machian*, whence they were propagated all over *Ceram*, *Amboyna*, and the neighbouring iſlands, and in the ſpace of fifty or ſixty years the whole of *Hoetwamoebil* was covered with them. This was told to the Dutch when they firſt came to *Cambello*, and ſome of the trees firſt planted were ſhewn to them, behind the hill of *Maſſili*; the memory of it is likewiſe preſerved in the traditionary ſongs of the Amboyneſe. The brave and enterprizing inhabitants of *Cambello*, were rewarded for the openneſs with which they ſhewed the Dutch their treaſures, by the deſtruction of all their clove-trees, and the deprivation of the fruits of their induſtry, and exertion; the implacable enmity

ceedingly well here, and eſpecially upon the iſlands of *Honimoa*, *Oma*, and *Nouſſa-laut*, commonly called the *Uliaſſers*, which, together with *Amboyna*, are the only ſpots where the Company allow it to be cultivated *, and they conſtantly cauſe it to be deſtroyed in every other place within their

enmity which they in conſequence entertained for the Dutch, and their repeated attacks upon the forts, their enemies eſtabliſhed in their country, have been ſtigmatized by the Dutch writers, as a baſe and wicked ſpirit of diſobedience, and an *unjuſt* and cruel luſt of blood and warfare; "ſo that," ſays VALENTYN, "it would have been better, if, inſtead of extir-"pating their trees alone, we had, at the ſame time, exter-"minated this revengeful and ſanguinary nation." *T.*

* I believe too, that whatever pains foreign nations may take to propagate theſe ſpice-trees in other places, they will never ſucceed, except in the neighbourhood of the *Moluccas*, unleſs in ſimilar countries, ſituated in the ſame latitudes, which, like theſe, heated by ſubterraneous fires, afford, by the action of this natural laboratory, ſufficient heat to the ſpice-trees, to give their fruit their ſtrong pungent and aromatic flavour. *S.*

The clove-tree has, however, been ſucceſsfully introduced in the Weſt-India iſlands, and though the quantities hitherto brought from them, have been very inſignificant, yet their conſtant increaſe ſuffices to ſhew, that the culture is in an improving ſtate; in 1797, 350*lbs.* were imported to London from *Martinico*, and in the preſent year 300*lbs.* from that iſland, and 2,981*lbs.* from *St. Kitts*. *T.*

reach,

reach, eſpecially on little *Ceram*, or *Hoewamoehil* *; excluſive of the extirpations which take place, from time to time, in the ſpice-iſlands themſelves, in order to moderate the great abundance of the article, with which their warehouſes overflow, both at *Batavia* and in *Holland*.

Thus, the ſupreme Indian government ordered by their letter, of the 26th of December, 1769, that the number of clove-trees ſhould not be allowed to exceed five hundred thouſand †, and it was further ordered, in the year 1773, that fifty thouſand more ſhould be deſtroyed, ſo that at preſent (1775), after three extirpations, the number of clove-trees, as near as could

* *Hoewamoehil* is a peninſula joined to *Ceram* by an iſthmus, called the Paſs of *Tanoene*; it was not only very fertile in clove-trees, but produced likewiſe large quantities of nutmeg-trees; of theſe laſt, what was called *the great nutmeg-tree foreſt*, was deſtroyed in 1667, and in another place 3,300 nutmeg-trees. *T.*

† One hundred and twenty-five clove-trees are allowed to a plantation, or *douſſon*, as it is called by the Amboyneſe, and of theſe there are 4000, which makes the number of 500,000 trees. *T.*

be

be aſcertained, amounts to 513,268; where-of

320,491 fruit-bearing trees
104,866 half-grown
87,911 young plants

513,268

beſides 22,310 *tatanamangs*, which are trees that are not comprehended in the clove-plantations, but ſtand interſperſed here and there, near the houſes. Every Amboy-neſe plants ſuch a clove-tree when a child is born to him, in order, by a rough calculation, to know their age. Although they do not oppoſe the extirpation of the clove-trees in the plantations, when the Company think it fit, yet to touch their *tatanamangs* would ſpeedily be the cauſe of a general inſurrection among them: this was manifeſt on the occaſion of one of the laſt extirpations, when the extirpators, ignorantly, at leaſt as they pretended, cut down ſome *tatanamangs*. The whole country was immediately up; and had not the then governor, VAN DER V——, ſpeedily provided againſt it, they would have deſtroyed all the other clove-trees, ſet fire to their habitations, and flying

to

to the mountains, they would thus have withdrawn themſelves from their obedience to the Company.

I have been aſſured that a clove-tree will continue to bear fruit for the ſpace of eighty years*.

Beſides the clove, nutmeg-trees likewiſe grow here with tolerable luxuriance; but they are all deſtroyed, by the orders of the government, whenever they are found†.

In

* VALENTYN mentions a clove-tree upon *Hoewamoebil*, that was known to be one hundred and thirty years old, and to have yielded in one ſeaſon two bhars, or 1,100 *lb.* of cloves. *T.*

† As we had no opportunity, in the ſhort account given of the iſlands of *Banda* in the firſt volume, to deſcribe the nutmeg-tree, it may be well to introduce an account of it here. The *myriſtica moſchata*, or true nutmeg, is a handſome and ſpreading tree; the bark is ſmooth, and of a browniſh-grey colour; the leaves are eliptical, pointed, obliquely nerved, on the upper ſide of a bright green, on the under, whitiſh, and ſtand alternately upon footſtalks; they afford a moſt grateful aromatic ſcent when bruiſed. If a branch of the tree be broken off, a ſap runs out of it, which is of great prejudice to the tree; and it never thrives well afterwards. It does not bear fruit till its eighth or ninth year. When it begins to produce fruit, little yellowiſh buds make their appearance, out of which ſmall white flowers are blown, hanging two or three together, upon ſlender pedunceles; in the center of the flower is an oblong reddiſh knob, from which the fruit is produced, though no more than one

bloſſo

In proportion, as the clove-trees were more and more eradicated, the government at

bloſſom out of three commonly ripens to a nutmeg. The fruit is eight or nine months arriving at maturity; but bloſſoms and ripe fruit are found at the ſame time upon the ſame tree, and the nutmegs are generally gathered three times in a year. The fruit appears like a ſmall peach, both in ſhape and in colour, only it is pointed towards the ſtalk; when it is ripe, the outer coat, which is almoſt half an inch thick, opens and ſhews the nutmeg, in its black and ſhining ſhell, encircled by a network of ſcarlet mace; the outer coat is generally whitiſh, a little hard, and is very good preſerved in ſugar, or ſtewed; you then come to the mace, which is of a fine bright red colour, and under it a black ſhell, about as thick as that of a filbert, but very hard; it is opened by being firſt dried ſucceſſively in five different *petaks*, or drying-places, made of ſplit bamboos, upon which the nutmegs are laid, and placed over a ſlow fire; in each of theſe petaks they remain a week, till the nutmegs are heard to ſhake within the ſhell, which is then eaſily broken; the nutmegs are then ſorted and delivered to the Company; each ſort is then ſeparately put in baſkets, and ſoaked three times in tubs with ſea-water, much impregnated with lime; they are then put into diſtinct cloſets, where they are left for ſix weeks, to ſweat; this is done that the lime, by cloſing the pores of the nuts, may prevent their ſtrength from evaporating, and likewiſe becauſe ſuch a prepared nutmeg is not fit for propagation. Some trees afford longer, and ſome rounder, nutmegs, but which are of the ſame quality; the long ones are called male nutmegs; but there are likewiſe wild male nutmegs, which have little flavour, and are not valued. The Bandaneſe enumerate ſeveral ſorts of nutmegs, but they appear only varieties in the fruit of the ſame tree. The *myriſtica fatua*, or wild nutmeg, grows in all the Eaſtern iſlands; it ſeems to have been this

at *Batavia* began to think on the means of giving the Amboyneſe an equivalent for the diminution of that production, as the crop of cloves brought but little money into circulation, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter. For that purpoſe, his excellency, governor MOSSEL, propoſed, in his *Secret Conſiderations on the State of India*, offered to the gentlemen in authority at home, under the head of *Amboyna*, to encourage the cultivation of pepper and indigo there, as much as poſſible, in order to furniſh a better means of ſubſiſtence to the natives; but the little inclination which the rulers of *Amboyna* have ſhewn to comply with this propoſal, and the little attention they have beſtowed upon the ſubject, or, as they allege in their own exculpation, the indolence of the Amboyneſe, have almoſt wholly fruſtrated the attempts which have been made in this line.

The

this ſort that FORREST obtained at *Dory* harbour in *New Guinea*, and planted on the iſland of *Burrwoot*; it is produced likewiſe in the *Weſt-Indies*, at the iſland of *Tobago*. An eſſential oil is extracted both from nutmegs and from mace; it is reckoned that three *catti* of *Banda*, making about ſeventeen pounds and a quarter, Amſterdam weight, yield about a quart of oil. *T.*

The indigo that is produced upon *Leytimor* is thought to be much better than that of *Buro*; a pound of the former ſtands the company in ſix gilders *; but it is very little inferior in point of brilliancy of tint to Pruſſian blue.

The government then adopted the mode of taking it by contract, promiſing to pay forty-eight ſtivers for the firſt, thirty-ſix for the ſecond, and twenty-four for the third or worſt ſort †; but neither did this ſucceed, while its failure is equally attributed to the lazineſs of the natives.

The following quantities were delivered to the company, in 1748, and 1749, according to the report of Governor ROOZEBOOM;

	from *Hila*.		from *Bouro*.
1748 .	185 *lb*.	———	281 *lb*.
1749 .	200 *lb*.	———	225½ *lb*.
	385 *lb*.		506½ *lb*.
			385
			In all 891½ *lb*.

* About 11*s*. ſterling. T.

† About 4*s*. 4*d*. for the firſt, 3*s*. 3*d*. for the ſecond, and 2*s*. 2*d*. for the third ſort. T.

The cultivation of pepper in *Bouro* ſucceeded no better, though the pepper-vine, it is ſaid, grows very well there, and produces a large corn; but which is not of ſo hard a ſubſtance, nor ſo ſtrong a flavour, as that of *Bantam*, or the *Malabar* coaſt.

I am much ſurprized that the government has not hitherto taken any pains to proſecute the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the iſlands of *Amboyna*, for it grows as luxuriantly, and as full of ſap here, as in *Java*, or any where elſe; which I know, by having frequently ſeen and examined the canes which have been planted here and there by the ſlaves for their own uſe. This would not only alleviate the poverty of the Amboyneſe, as their clove-trees are deſtroyed from year to year, but it would, on the other hand, be no leſs profitable to the Company, as the article would be conveyed hence, without any additional expence, by the clove-ſhips, on board of which it could be ſtowed as a lower tier, and ſerve for ballaſt. Perhaps, however, this has never been put in practice, in order that the competition of the ſugars from *Amboyna* might not be of prejudice to the ſugar-works of *Jaccatra*, in which

which perhaps the gentlemen in the direction of affairs are intereſted.

Coffee likewiſe grows here in ſufficient luxuriance to encourage the Amboyneſe in the cultivation of it; and the quality of *it* is, by no means, inferior to that of *Java*.

CHAPTER III.

Deſcription of the Sago-tree, and of the Manner in which the Sago is prepared.—The Ela.—Sago-bread.—Gabbe-gabba.—Atap.—Sago-woods of the Company.—Fruits.—The Sagwire-tree, and the Liquor drawn from it.—Animals.—Deer.—Wild Hogs.—Babi-rouſſa, or Hog-deer.—Fiſhes.—Wonderful Stories of the Amboyneſe.—A Fiſh called Jacob Evertſen.—Reptiles.—Snakes.—Domeſtic Animals.

THOUGH the clove-tree yields the richeſt production of this iſland, the *Sago*-tree is of much greater utility to the Amboyneſe.

This production, which a wiſe Providence has beſtowed as an univerſal article of food upon the inhabitants of *Amboyna*, *Ceram*, and the ſurrounding iſlands eaſt of *Celebes*, (for on *Celebes* it grows not *, though it is again found in *Borneo*, where on the contrary, rice, as a primary article of food, is wanting) propagates itſelf by offſets, or ſhoots, which for a long time appear only

* Other travellers inform us that the ſago likewiſe grows on *Celebes*, eſpecially, and in much abundance, at the bottom of *Bugguſs*-bay. *T.*

like

like buſhes *, and which all proceed from the roots, or from the bottom of the trunk of a full-grown tree.

I ſhall not ſet down all that appeared to me worthy of obſervation, on the ſubject of this tree, as VALENTYN, in his deſcription of the trees and plants of *Amboyna*, is ample in his account of it; but I ſhall only make mention of what he has not noticed.

The ſtem, when it begins to form itſelf out of the buſh, ſhoots up, as ſtraight as an arrow, to the height of between forty and ſixty feet, without any lateral branches, juſt like the ſiri, and cocoa-nut-trees, to which genus it likewiſe belongs, forming a handſome crown at the top, which affords an agreeable ſhade.

A grove of theſe trees, with their erected ſtems, which, when arrived at maturity, conſiſt of nothing but a ſpongy and mealy ſubſtance, ſurrounded by a hard bark, of about half an inch thick, and their beautiful leafy crowns, have a very charming appearance, and form a pleaſant and cool retreat,

* Yet theſe buſhes are about fifteen or ſixteen feet in height. *T.*

This white, ſpongy, and mealy ſubſtance is the ſago, which ſerves the natives in lieu of bread *.

As the manner in which I have ſeen the ſago *poekeled*, or made into meal, differs in ſome reſpects from that which VALENTYN relates, I ſhall here ſhortly particularize it.

A tree is firſt made choice of, the pith of which it is certain has attained its full maturity, and this is perceived by its beginning to be of a yellowiſh-white caſt juſt under the foliage †. The ſtem is then cut through as cloſe to the ground as poſſible, in order to loſe the leſs of the farinaceous contents.

* The ſago-tree does not produce any fruit, till it has loſt its ſtrength, and is about to die, when the branches likewiſe appear covered with meal; it then produces at the top, a bunch of ſmall fruit, like pigeon's eggs, which are firſt green, and afterwards yellow; the kernel is very aſtringent. It delights in wet and moraſſy ſituations, and will not grow except in low grounds. It does not live above thirty years. *T.*

† They likewiſe ſometimes try it by chopping a hole in the tree, out of which they take ſome of the pith to examine whether it be ripe enough; if not, they cloſe the hole again, but elſe they immediately fell the tree, as if ſuffered to remain too long, and till it produces fruit, they know that the pith will turn entirely into green filaments, and yield no ſago. *T.*

When

When the tree is thus felled, it is cut through in the middle of its length, into two or more pieces, and the hard bark of each piece is ſplit aſunder by the inſertion of wedges; the ſago then appears uncovered, juſt like the ſpungy ſubſtance in our elder-trees. They then make a certain inſtrument, reſembling an adze, out of one of the branches of the tree they have felled, with which they looſen the ſago all round from the bark, and reduce it to the appearance of ſawduſt.

The whole tree being thus *poekeled* out, the raw ſago is put, by portions, into a trough, like a canoe, and water is poured upon it, and well mixed with the ſago, by which means the meal is ſeparated from the filaments.

Theſe filaments, which might be denominated the bran of the ſago, are called *ela*, and are made uſe of to feed hogs, poultry, &c.

The water, thus impregnated with the ſago-meal, having ſtood ſtill for ſome time, the meal ſubſides, by its own weight, to the bottom, the water is then poured off, and it is a ſecond time purified in the ſame man-

ner; after this, the wet meal is laid upon flat wicker-baſkets, to dry, and it is then kneaded together, and into little cakes of three inches long, two inches broad, and half an inch thick; finally, it is put into moulds of the ſame ſize and ſhape, and baked over the fire, till it is done enough, and becomes dry and hard. *

The taſte of the ſago-bread does not much vary from that of the *Caſſava*, or *Manioc*, of the Weſt-Indies; but it appeared to me to be more nutritive; it is not unpleaſant to eat, when it has been firſt a little ſoaked, and afterwards fried in butter; yet it is very difficult of digeſtion.

The fineſt part of the meal is mixed with water, and the paſte is rubbed into little round grains, like ſmall ſhot, and dried. This preparation is not diſagreeable in ſoups, in lieu of Italian macaroni: the ſago that is

* The mould, or oven, for baking ſago-bread is made of earthen ware; it is generally nine inches ſquare, and about four deep, divided into two equal parts by a partition parallel to its ſides. Each of thoſe parts is ſubdivided into eight or nine, about an inch broad, ſo that the whole contains two rows of cells, about eight or nine in a row. The oven is turned firſt on one ſide and afterwards on the other, upon the fire, and the cakes are ſufficiently baked in about ten or twelve minutes. *T.*

produced

produced in *Borneo* is eſteemed the beſt for this purpoſe.

A preparation is likewiſe made of this fineſt part of the meal, which is called *popeda*, and has much reſemblance to the porridge of buckwheat-meal which is made in *Holland*, but it is much more gelatinous. This is eat off of little ſticks, which being dipped into the *popeda*, take with them a part of it which adheres to them; they are then dipped in fiſh-broth, and, together with a little fiſh, conſtitute the beſt diſh of the Amboyneſe, and even of thoſe who are deſcendants of Europeans.

A *toma*, or twenty-five pounds weight, of ſago-meal, is ſold here, in general, for ſeven or eight ſtivers; and an ordinary tree, which can commonly be *poekeled* from its twelfth to its twentieth year, yields five or ſix hundred pounds of it.

Beſides the farinaceous part for food, the ſago-tree yields other things of utility to the Indians.

The ſtem or bark, after the meal has been *poekeled* out, is made uſe of by the natives, to form little bridges, over rivulets, or little creeks.

What are called the branches, which are chan-

channelled on the upper ſide, and convex on the under, ſerve alſo ſometimes for the ſame purpoſe; but the chief uſe which the Amboyneſe make of them is for the walls and roofs of their houſes, and for packing-caſes, &c. This article is called *gabbe-gabba*.

The leaves, laced together, form what is called *atap*, and ſerve inſtead of tiles for covering of houſes, and to preſerve things from the rain; but roofs of *atap* muſt be renewed every ſix or ſeven years *.

Although

* The ſago-tree has, like all the trees of the palm-kind, a cabbage, which is eaten by the natives, though it is not ſo good or wholeſome as that of the *aneebong*, or proper cabbage-palm. When a ſago-tree has been felled, the *ela*, or refuſe, is frequently left in the woods, and the wild hogs fatten upon it; a kind of muſhrooms, which are much eſteemed by the natives, grow upon the heaps of *ela*. The ſago-tree is even of benefit after it has been deprived of its pith, and left to rot where it was felled; for when rotten, a ſort of very fat white worms, called *ſago-worms*, with brown heads, are found in it, which the Indians roaſt, and think a great delicacy. A computation has been made by FORREST of how many perſons may live on an acre planted with ſago-trees. A ſago-tree he allows to take up 100 ſquare feet; now the contents of an acre are 43,500 ſquare feet, which allows 435 trees to grow within that ſpace; but ſuppoſing only 300, and that, one with another, they give 300 weight of flour, then three trees, or 900 weight, would maintain one man for a year, and an acre to be cut down

Although the ſago-tree grows on almoſt all the iſlands of this province, it is upon that of *Hoewamoehil*, or *Little Ceram*, that the largeſt woods of it are found, of which the Company reſerve the property to themſelves, and annually diſpoſe of their produce to their own emolument. The woods of *Loehoe* and *Hanitello* yielded to the Company, in one year, according to the report of Governor ROOZEBOOM, the quantity of 1067*lb*. It is diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts, which the Company have reſpectively ſold at the following prices:

the *maha poetey*, or beſt ſort, at 1 rix-dollar per *lb*.

the *majou baroe*, or ſecond ſort, at ¾ rix-dollar per pound.

down would maintain 100 men for the ſame time; now, as ſago-trees are ſeven years a-growing, 100 divided by ſeven, will allow fourteen men to be maintained for a year on the produce of one-ſeventh part of an acre, immediately, or on the produce of a whole acre, progreſſively cut, one-ſeventh part at a time, allowing freſh trees to ſprout up. By Dr. FORSTER's computation, ten or twelve perſons live eight months upon the produce of an acre planted with bread-fruit-trees, at *Otaheite*. *T.*

the

the *ſeri boa*, or third ſort, at ½ rixdollar per pound *.

In how far now theſe ſago-woods of *Little Ceram* are a ſource of revenue to the governor of *Amboyna*, I will not here examine into.

Fruits and vegetables for food, or refreſhment, are but ſcarce. The ſhaddock †, which is by no means as good as at *Batavia*, a few ſweet oranges, mangos ‡, mangoſteens §, the bilembing ‖, and watermelons, are al-

* The inconſiſtency of this paragraph with what has gone before, muſt be aſcribed to ſome very material errors of the preſs, in numercial characters, in the original; the quantity of 1067 *lb.* of ſago is barely the produce of two trees, according to what has preceded, and therefore is palpably abſurd as applied to the produce of *the largeſt woods*; ſuppoſing it even ought to have been printed 106,700, if would fall conſiderably ſhort of what that expreſſion would lead us to expect, as it would then be no more than the produce of about 200 trees. How, too, ſhall we reconcile the prices of 1½, and ½, rixdollar per pound, with that of ſeven or eight ſtivers for twenty-five pounds? No clue has been found in any of the writers conſulted to ſolve theſe difficulties, and there was therefore no alternative to leaving the text as it ſtands in the original. *T.*

† *Citrus decumanus.*

‡ *Mangifera indica.*

§ *Garcinia mangoſtana.*

‖ *Averrhoa belimbi.*

moſt

moſt the only fruits, and they are not very abundant. The few vegetables which grow here, require infinitely more attention in rearing them than at *Batavia*.

The *ſagwire* is a liquor drawn from a tree, which, according to the little knowledge I have of botany, belongs to the ſame genus with the cocoa-nut, ſago, ſiri, and date-trees. It is of the ſame nature as the toddy, or palmwine.

When it firſt comes from the tree, it is clear, and looks much like pure water. Its taſte is ſweet, but refreſhing. It becomes acidulated by degrees, and at laſt turns quite ſour, which, however, can be prevented by preparing it by means of a certain bitter wood *, which being put into it preſerves it good for a long time: although it then loſes its pleaſant taſte, and turns thickeſt, looking like orgeade, or almond-milk, it is eſteemed more wholeſome, and has an inebriating quality; it is afterwards kept in bottles well worked.

* For this purpoſe the roots of a tree called the *ſoſoot*-tree are uſed, which occaſion a fermentation in the *ſagwire*, and in about eight hours, make it fit for keeping. T.

The

The tree which yields this liquor, has always a faded appearance, with many yellow, dead leaves, which look much like thoſe of the ſago-tree. One of theſe leaves, or rather branches, is cut off, and the *ſagwire* trickles out of it by drops, which are caught in a bamboo, hung under it for that purpoſe, and when this is full, the contents are drawn off, by a tap at the bottom; this operation is called *tyffering*.

The woods are filled with deer, and with wild hogs, the fleſh of which animals is almoſt the only meat that is eaten here. It is uſed freſh, ſalted, and dried: in the laſt manner, it is called *dingding*; it is broiled a little over the fire, and eaten with rice: it is a chief article of food of the Europeans, and the Amboyneſe eat it likewiſe when they can afford to purchaſe it.

Among the wild animals, which inhabits the woods of the iſland *Bouro*, there is one which bears the name of *babi-rouſſa*, or the *hog-deer*; it has been fully deſcribed by VALENTYN, who has given us a repreſentation of it; but it appeared to me, when I compared the figure with one of the animals alive,

alive, that its legs were longer than they are there repreſented*.

The bay uſed formerly to abound in fiſh; but they are not ſo plentiful now, on account of the violent earthquake of the year 1754. Moſt of the fiſh that are found here are peculiar to theſe ſeas.

* The *babi-rouſſa*, which is a Malay appellation, ſignifying hog-deer, partakes, as its name denotes, of the nature both of the hog and of the deer. The chief ſingularity of the animal conſiſts in two of its upper teeth being curved round, and, penetrating through the bone of the forehead, appear juſt above the ſnout, like two ſemicircular horns; they are ſometimes ſo far bent round, that they grow into the bone of the head again: it has likewiſe two tuſks placed in the under jaw, like other wild boars: the female is without any of theſe projecting teeth: it has a ſoft thin ſkin, with ſhort hair, and has no briſtles: the ſnout is more pointed than that of the other wild hogs, and the tail is longer, with a bunch of hair at the end; the ears are pretty ſhort, and the eyes ſmall; its feet have each two long and two ſhort toes, but the fore legs are much ſhorter than the hinder ones; theſe animals are eaſily hunted down; but they frequently hurt the dogs with their lower tuſks; the upper tuſks are too far recurvated to admit of their defending themſelves with them. Their fleſh more reſembles veniſon than pork; there is little fat upon it, it being moſtly ſolid meat. They do not live, like the other wild hogs, upon ſago and canari, a ſort of almonds, but chiefly upon graſs and the leaves of trees. They never aſſociate with the wild hogs, and when hunted, they generally take to the water, where they are very expert in ſwimming and in diving, and ſometimes ſwim over from one iſland to the other. *T.*

Many

Many very ſtrange fiſhes, muſt have been met with here, in the time of VALENTYN*; and in this region of wonders, it is not ſufficient that the really ſingular productions of nature are beheld and admired, or feared, but ſuperſtition has multiplied wonders upon wonders. *Inter alia*, there is, ſays the Amboyneſe, and likewiſe the Macaſſers, a monſter that has its abode in theſe ſeas, which they deſcribe as having a thouſand legs, all of them ſo large, that if it lay but one of the thouſand upon any veſſel, it muſt immediately founder; and yet this monſter is believed to be afraid of a common cock; whence theſe poor ſuperſtitious mortals will never put to ſea without having chanticleer for a guardian-angel on board.

There is likewiſe, it is ſaid, a large fiſh, near the pierhead at *Amboyna*, to which the name of *Jacob Evertſen* has been given, and they pretend that it takes away one man every year. I am not qualified to ſay whether any fiſh of the ſhark kind does, or does not, particularly reſort to that ſpot, although many reputable people at *Amboyna* believe

* VALENTYN deſcribes, and gives repreſentations of, 528 different ſorts of fiſh, moſtly peculiar to theſe ſeas. T.

the

the whole ſtory; but it is certain, however, that on the evening of my arrival here, about nine o'clock, a ſailor of one of the ſloops that lay juſt behind my ſhip, on his ſwimming a-ſhore to fetch his pocket-handkerchief, which he had left, was ſo dreadfully bitten by ſome fiſh or other in the head, that he died the ſame night; and he would probably have been dragged to the bottom and devoured, had not immediate aſſiſtance been given to him, upon his loud cries for help, as well from my ſhip as from the other veſſels.

From lions, tigers, wolves, and other beaſts of prey, *Amboyna* is free. The moſt noxious animals are ſnakes, of which there are ſeveral ſorts in the woods and fields, which are amply deſcribed by VALENTYN.

I one morning, walking in the garden behind my houſe, found the *oelar biſa nepis*, or *thin poiſon ſnake**, ſo cloſe to me, that I ſhould

* Nearly twenty different ſorts of ſnakes are deſcribed by VALENTYN. Among them the *oelar biſa biroe*, or *blue poiſon ſnake*, is the moſt venemous; it is no more than a foot and a half in length, and about two inches thick; it is remarkably quick, and its bite is mortal. The *oelar biſa nepis*, or *thin poiſon*

ſhould probably have trodden on it, had it not firſt diſcovered and hiſſed at me, whereby I had juſt time to retire from the dangerous neighbourhood; I caught it a little while afterwards, and preſerved it in ſpirits.

The ſnakes with legs, appear to me to belong rather to the lizard tribe, than that of ſnakes. Among the ſingularities here, we may reckon the flying lizard.

I ſhall not ſpeak of the other animals and inſects, crocodiles, alligators, gek-kos, lizards, ſcorpions, centipedes, nor of the very curious inſect called the *walking leaf*, as they are all ſufficiently deſcribed by VALENTYN.*

Of the domeſtic animals, among which are enumerated buffaloes, cows, horſes, ſheep, goats, and hogs, the laſtmentioned only are natives of the country; the others

poiſon ſnake, is ſcarcely a quarter of an inch thick, and about a foot and a half, or two feet, in length; its bite is equally incurable. T.

* The ineſtimable work of VALENTYN, to which the reader is ſo frequently referred, is ſcarce even in Holland; it conſiſts of five large folio volumes, containing upwards of 1000 copperplates. The tranſlator is in poſſeſſion of a copy, which he procured at much pains and expence; and would his limits allow of it, he would be more copious in his extracts from it, as it is a treaſure locked up in a cheſt, of which few have the key, no tranſlation having ever been made of it. T.

have been brought hither, as well by the Portugueſe as by the Dutch, from *Java*, *Celebes*, and the ſouthweſtern iſles.

The cows here give much leſs milk, and worſe butter than in *Java*; the price of the butter remains the ſame as it was eighty years ago, in the time of VALENTYN, viz. one rixdollar per pound.

CHAPTER IV.

Inhabitants of AMBOYNA.—*The Alfoereſe.*—*Account of them by* RUMPHIUS.—*The Amboyneſe.*—*Their Stature.*—*Appearance.*—*Temper.*—*The Women.*—*Their Laſciviouſneſs.*—*The Religion of the Amboyneſe.*—*Their Idolatry.*—*Vices.*—*Amboyneſe Chriſtians.*—*Their Superſtition.*—*Their Government.*—*The Chineſe.*—*Account of a Chineſe Marriage at* AMBOYNA.—*Deſcendants of Portugueſe.*—*Foundation and Extenſion of the Power of the Duchy here.*

THE inhabitants of *Amboyna*, and of the adjacent iſlands belonging to this government, may properly be divided into four claſſes, viz. the Alforeſe, the Amboyneſe, the Europeans, and the Chineſe.

The Alfoers or Alfoereſe are, in all probability, the firſt and moſt ancient inhabitants of theſe countries; at the preſent day they ſtill remain ſeparate from the other inhabitants, and dwell in the mountains of *Bouro* and *Ceram*, where they live according

ing to their ancient cuſtoms, and avoid all intercourſe with the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, except when they are in want of ſuch articles as are not to be met with in the interior parts of the iſlands, which chiefly conſiſts in iron and ſalt, againſt which commodities they give in barter the productions of their mountains.

The few which I ſaw of this nation, appeared to me not ſo dark in colour, and both handſomer and more ſinewy than the Amboyneſe.

I met with the following account of them, in the deſcription of *Amboyna* compoſed by RUMPHIUS, which, having been prohibited by the government at *Batavia*, has never been printed, but of which a manuſcript copy is preſerved in the ſecretary's office at *Amboyna*.

" Moſt of the Alforeſe inhabit the wild " mountains and interior parts of *Ceram*. " They are large, ſtrong, and ſavage people, " in general taller than the inhabitants of " the ſea-ſhores; they go moſtly naked, both " men and women, and only wear a thick " bandage round their waiſt, which is called " *chiaaca*, and is made of the milky bark of

 " a tree,

" a tree, called by them *ſacka* (being the " *ficamorus alba)*. They tie their hair up- " on the head over a cocoa-nut ſhell, and " ſtick a comb in it; round the neck they " wear a ſtring of beads.

" Their arms are, a ſword made of bam- " boo, together with a bow and arrows.

" They are ſharp-ſighted, and ſo nimble " in running, that they can run down and " kill a wild hog, at its utmoſt ſpeed.

" An ancient, but moſt deteſtable and " criminal cuſtom prevails among them, " agreeable to which, no one is allowed to " take a wife, before he can ſhew a head of " an enemy which he has cut off: in order " to obtain this qualification for matrimony, " ſix, eight, or ten of them go together to a " ſtrange part, where they ſtay till they have " an opportunity of ſurpriſing ſome one, " which they do with great dexterity, ſpring- " ing upon the unwary paſſenger like tigers: " they generally cover themſelves with " branches of trees and buſhes, ſo that they " are rather taken for brakes and thickets " than for men; in this poſture they lie in " wait for their prey, and take the firſt op- " portunity that preſents itſelf of darting

" their

" their *toran* or *ſagoe* (a ſort of miſſile lance)
" into the back of a paſſenger, or ſpring
" upon him at once, and cut off his head,
" with which they inſtantly decamp, and fly
" with ſpeed from the ſcene of their wanton
" barbarity.

" If they want to build a new houſe, or
" a new *baleeuw*, which is a kind of council-
" hall, they muſt equally firſt go and fetch
" ſome human heads. They are not to be
" broken of this horrid cuſtom; and it is
" the only objection they make to embrac-
" ing the Chriſtian religion, that they muſt
" then abandon it; for no one attains a
" higher degree of fame and reſpect, than
" he who has brought in the moſt heads;
" and in proof of his proweſs, he wears
" as many little white ſhells round his neck
" and arms, as he has murdered men.

" The heads thus brought in are ſhewn
" upon a ſtone in the village, conſecrated to
" that purpoſe, and are afterwards heaped
" together in dark groves, in the receſſes of
" the mountains, where they practiſe their
" diabolical rites, for they do not perform
" the demonolatry they are addicted to, in
" any temples, but here and there in ſolitary

" places, and in dreary woods, where the " devil anſwers their interrogatories, and " often carries away ſome of them, eſpe- " cially children, for three or four months, " after which time he brings them back " again, after having preſented them with " painted canes, to which ſeveral little ſtrings " of Chineſe copper-money are attached *.

" They ſubſiſt upon the wild animals

* Theſe circumſtances aſſume a more probable appearance in the more ample relation which VALENTYN gives of the religion of the Alforeſe. " They have," he ſays, " in *Ceram*, " and elſewhere, temples which they call *marels*, and like- " wiſe *toetoe-wo*, made of *gabbe gabba*, which ſtand in the " deepeſt part of the woods, and under the darkeſt trees. In " them, parents deliver their children, under twelve years of " age, to the prieſts, to be inſtructed in the ſervice of their " demon or god, and the prieſts receive the children, without " the parents being able to ſee any thing in the temple, on ac- " count of the almoſt utter darkneſs that prevails in it. Im- " mediately after they hear the moſt diſmal cries, and ſee " bloody pikes ſticking through the roof of the temple; and " though this would ſeem to denote that their children are " murdered, they receive them back in three months. Each " of thoſe children then receives a painted ſtick of thin white " cane, upon which ſome figures are burnt, and to which a " few ſtrings of Chineſe copper coins are hung; they are then " rubbed with yellow paint and aromatic oils, and ſent about " the village to beg for gongs, clothes, and other things, for " the chief prieſt." The remainder of the account he gives of the Alforeſe, though far more copious, is perfectly ſimilar to and conſiſtent with that of Mr. RUMPHIUS. *T.*

" which

" which they catch in the woods; nor do
" they even diſdain ſnakes.

" Their women are of a tolerably fair
" complexion, well proportioned, and alto-
" gether by no means diſagreeable.

" Among theſe Alforeſe, there is another
" kind of ſavage people, who do not dwell
" in any houſes or huts, but upon high
" *warinje*, and other trees, which ſpread
" their branches wide round: they lead and
" intertwine the branches ſo cloſely together,
" that they form an eaſy reſting-place; and
" each tree is the habitation of a whole fa-
" mily: they adopt this mode, becauſe they
" dare not truſt even thoſe of their own na-
" tion, as they ſurprize each other during
" the night, and kill whoever they take
" hold of."

Thus far the relation of Mr. RUMPHIUS, who being a man of ſome experience and much reputation, deſerves credit in ſome inſtances.

I could not meet with any other intelligence reſpecting theſe people at *Amboyna*, as they are but ſeldom viſited, and ſtill more rarely by people either able or willing to obſerve and record what is curious among them.

The

The Amboyneſe are alſo very ancient inhabitants of theſe iſlands; but the difference of their make, and the rather darker ſhade of their complexion, ſeem to point out that they are not deſcended from the ſame progenitors as the Alforeſe.

They are of a middling ſize, rather thin than otherwiſe; their colour is nearer approaching to black than to brown; both men and women have regular features, and among the latter there are very many who are handſome; it ſeemed very probable to me, that the country or the climate contributed much to this, though how or why I cannot tell, for the children of Europeans born here, are almoſt all pretty, and much more ſo than in *Java*, or at *Batavia*.

Neither the thick lips, nor the depreſſed noſes, which, according to our ideas of beauty, deform the "human face divine" in other hot countries, are ſeen here; but on the contrary, and eſpecially among the females, perfectly ſymmetrical countenances are the general characteriſtic of the inhabitants.

They are indolent and effeminate, and both want and violence prove but feeble motives to incite them to labour. Yet this is no more than is almoſt univerſally the caſe with

with all nations who bow their necks under a foreign yoke, eſpecially in the Aſiatic regions, and other warm countries: and I think it probable, though the heat of the climate is alone ſufficient to produce inactivity, and a repugnance to every thing that fatigues the body, that they had been ſlaves inured to ſervitude under the dominion of ſtrangers, long before the Europeans came hither. The fervency of the climate, united to the eaſy mode of procuring ſubſiſtence from the ſago-tree, and from the copious ſupply of fiſh, which was formerly within their reach, in the bay of *Amboyna*, have been the cauſes that they have never been obliged to have recourſe to the fatiguing labours of agriculture, to adminiſter to the wants of nature. Hence they have eaſily fallen a prey to the nations who aimed at ſubduing them, as was manifeſt in the war with the Ternateſe, the Portugueſe, and the Dutch. Neither were they at all the cauſe that the princes of *Celebes* have not extended their dominion ſo far to the eaſtward, for the three abovementioned nations have always prevented it; although at that time the kings of *Nouſſanivel* took the high

ſounding

ſounding and proud title of *kings of ten thouſand ſwords.*

The Company muſt not, therefore, ever think that the Amboyneſe would be of any help to them, in caſe a foreign power were to endeavour to wreſt theſe poſſeſſions from them; for, were there no other reaſons to induce them to look upon any change as being for the better, their indifferent, indolent, and timorous diſpoſition would be ſufficient to prevent them from joining either ſide. It is true, that thoſe of *Hitoe* formerly ſhewed a little more courage in the civil commotions which took place in the laſt century, when they fought for independance, as they could no longer bear the oppreſſion of their inhuman taſk-maſters; but in the caſe we have ſuppoſed, it would be the ſame to them, beneath which European yoke they had to bend; as, let the event be as it might, they would always have to wear the chains of the conquerors; beſides that, as attached to the Mahomedan religion, they are the ſworn enemies of all chriſtians.

The women, though they are not ſo indolent as the men, are, on the other hand, exceſſively laſcivious; they poſſeſs no chaſtity either

either in a married, or an unmarried ſtate, and there is nothing that can reſtrain them from ſatisfying their paſſionate deſires. It is very uſual among them, that a girl gives proofs of her fruitfulneſs before marriage, which is never the leaſt bar to getting a huſband; and, on the contrary, frequently is a reaſon for being preferred to others, of whom it is leſs certain that they are capable of becoming mothers.

The Amboyneſe were in former times, as the Alforeſe are at preſent, idolaters; but the Javeneſe, who began to trade hither in the latter end of the fifteenth, and in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, endeavoured to diſſeminate the doctrines of Mahomet here, and they ſucceeded ſo well, that in the year 1515, that religion was generally received.

The Portugueſe arriving here in the mean time, endeavoured likewiſe to make the Roman catholic religion agreeable to the inhabitants, and to propagate it amongſt them; which, in particular, took place, according to RUMPHIUS, in the year 1532, on the peninſula of *Leytimor*, but thoſe of *Hitoe* have, to the preſent day, remained firmly attached

to

to the Mahomedan faith, whence, in contradiſtinction to the Leytimoreſe, they are called Moors.

When our people came to *Amboyna*, and the Portugueſe were expelled from the iſland, the proteſtant religion was gradually introduced; yet the unpleaſing reſult of theſe frequent changes of religion has been, as might naturally be expected, that, from blind idolaters, they have firſt become bad Roman catholics, and afterwards worſe proteſtants.

The practice of idolatry cannot yet be wholly eradicated: this, added to the prevalence of the ſuperſtitions which diſgrace chriſtanity among the followers of the Roman catholic perſuaſion, and the almoſt univerſal negligence, and want of zeal, of our eccleſiaſtics in theſe regions, almoſt entirely takes away the hope that the ſalutary doctrines of the goſpel will ever be deeply rooted here, and that the Amboyneſe will ever be cured of their deplorable blindneſs.

I cannot either ſay much good reſpecting their moral conduct; I have before mentioned that the women are univerſally unchaſte,

chaſte, and the men are, in this reſpect, no better. Theft is likewiſe one of the moſt prevalent vices among the Amboyneſe, and they are not a little dexterous in contriving the means of pilfering; I had twice experience of their adroitneſs in this reſpect, during my reſidence among them. Malice and envy are predominant paſſions in their breaſts, and are carried to great exceſs; they envy each other the leaſt degree of benefit, or proſperity; yet this is ſeldom productive of public aſſaſſination, or private murder, among them, for being a puſillanimous and ſuperſtitious race of men, death is to them, more than to any other nation, a king of terrors.

When theſe Amboyneſe chriſtians go in their veſſels paſt a certain hill on the ſouth coaſt of *Ceram*, they make an offering to the evil ſpirit, which they believe reſides there, in order that he may not do any harm to them, or to their veſſels. This offering is made in the following manner: they lay a few flowers, and a ſmall piece of money, into empty cocoanut-ſhells, which they ſet a-floating in the water: if it be in the evening, they put oil into them, with

little

little wicks, which they ſet a-light, and let burn out upon the water: they are perſuaded that, by this means, they have appeaſed the evil ſpirit, and that he will not raiſe any ſtorm againſt them.

VALENTYN has been ſufficiently ample in deſcribing their dreſs, houſes, diſeaſes, cuſtoms, &c. * to preclude the neceſſity of my ſaying more about them; I wiſh only to obſerve that that writer has placed almoſt every thing in the moſt advantageous light.

The inhabitants of *Amboyna* ſeem, from time immemorial, never to have been united under one head; but, as the moſt ancient accounts and traditions relate, each negree, or village, was governed by its own chief. It is true, there have been, and there are at preſent, unions of four or five negrees under one chief; but they are the leaſt in number: among theſe, the principal is *Nouſſanivel*, whoſe *rajah*, or king, has three other negrees under his dominion.

* In chapter i, ii, iii, and iv. of the fourth, and chapter i. of the fifth book of vol. II. of VALENTYN's *Oud en nieuw Oſt Indien. T.*

Theſe

Theſe chiefs are diſtinguiſhed into three claſſes, or ranks; thus, there are *rajahs*, or kings; *pattis*, who may be ſaid to be dukes or earls; and *oran cayos*, which ſignifies as much as *rich men*. Their chiefs, however, do not poſſeſs an abſolute authority: every negree has given as council to their chief, conſiſting of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable men of the village, who are called *oran touas*, that is, *elders*; and the *rajah*, *patti*, or *oran cayo*, of the negree is bound to conſult with them at the *caleeuw*, or council-hall, on all the concerns of the community.

Every negree has likewiſe its *marinhos*, who do not aſſiſt at the councils, but are exalted above the commonalty, and ſerve for exhorters and encouragers of the people in every public work.

Beſides ſeveral little ſervices which the common people are obliged to perform for theſe chiefs *, the laſt have likewiſe an income proceeding from the crops of cloves,

* They are obliged to build the houſes of their chiefs, and to furniſh all the timber, gabbe gabba, atap, and other materials neceſſary for the conſtruction, but the chiefs muſt maintain them while they are at work. T.

which the Company have beſtowed upon them.

The Company pay, for every *bhar* of five hundred and fifty pounds weight of cloves, fifty-ſix rixdollars, or one hundred-and-thirty-four gilders, and eight ſtivers *; but of this, the planters receive only fifty-one rixdollars, the remaining five being divided among the village-chiefs, three being allotted to the *rajah*, *patti*, or *oran cayo*, one and a half to the *oran touas*, or elders, and one-half rixdollar to the *marinhos*.

For theſe and other reaſons, the offices above alluded to, are eagerly ſought after, and are only obtained for a certain ſum of money, of which ſome of the governors who have ruled here in behalf of the Company, have not a little availed; I could enumerate ſome, who have come here with very little property, and in the courſe of a few years, by theſe, and other means, have accumulated conſiderable wealth, and who, immediately upon their return to *Batavia*,

* The cloves coſt the Dutch Company, at *Amboyna*, full ſix ſtivers per pound, or about 6½*d.* ſterling. *T.*

have,

have, in conſequence, ſolicited leave from the government, to tranſmit large ſums of money to Europe.

The ſale of theſe rejentſhips is not, however, an innovation of late date; for, from the beginning, every *oran cayo* paid fifty rixdollars for his nomination, a *patti* one hundred, and a *rajah* ſtill more; ſo that the *rajah* of *Nouſſanivel* was even once obliged to give a gratification of three thouſand rix-dollars.

The Chineſe who frequent this iſland, as well as all the others in the eaſtern parts of India, where the Company have poſſeſſions, are not, however, very numerous at *Amboyna*, becauſe there is very little trade, and ſcarcely any agriculture, two purſuits, to which, in general, that nation are very averſe to. If a calculation of their number were to be made from the head-money which they pay, all the Chineſe would ſcarcely be found to amount to one hundred individuals; but the frauds which are practiſed in the declarations made in this reſpect, are the cauſe that this cannot be conſidered as a proper rule.

They dwell here in a ſtreet, which is

called after them, where they keep their ſhops, with all ſorts of proviſions, &c. for ſale.

They are under the authority of a chief of their own nation, who is called captain, and who has at preſent a lieutenant under him, which was not formerly the caſe; but one of the governors was induced to inſtitute this lieutenant's office, by means of a preſent of five hundred rixdollars.

They do not intermarry with the Amboyneſe, but marry amongſt each other; and if it happen that they are in want of women, they take Macaſſer or Bougineſe girls for concubines.

In the month of April of the year 1775, a Chineſe youth came purpoſely from *Batavia* to *Amboyna*, to marry the daughter of one of his countrymen who was ſettled here, and was a man of property. I went to ſee the ceremonies that were made uſe of; I came too late to ſee the beginning of them, which, I was told, conſiſted principally in the throwing backwards and forwards of an egg into the wine ſleeves of the bridegroom and of the bride. I found them both ſitting next to each other in a parlour, with their eyes fixed

on

on the ground, as if meditating on what had been done, without ſpeaking a word to, or looking at each other. An oblong little table ſtood before them, covered with red ſilk, which was embroidered with flowers of gold; upon it were ſet, before each of them, a little cup with tea, and three or four little china diſhes with confectionary and boiled birds' neſts. The bridal bed was in the ſame apartment; it was likewiſe hung round with red ſilk; but there was a partition made in it, ſeparating the place where the bridegroom was to lie, from that of the bride; the former, however, occupied about two-thirds of the bed. The bride, who was a plump jolly maiden, nearly white, and pretty enough, wore a robe of red ſilk, with long and wide ſleeves; a chain of gold hung round her neck, and down upon her boſom: on her head ſhe wore a black bonnet, tapering upwards to a point, and adorned with three rows of jewels. The bridegroom was dreſſed in a ſimilar robe of blue ſilk and cotton. They both kept their arms and hands conſtantly tucked into the ſleeves. When the bridegroom ſtood up, he did it ſo ſlowly and cautiouſly, and without moving his eyes

in the leaſt, that he appeared perfectly like an image of wax, or an automaton moved by inviſible mechaniſm.

The young couple were forced to endure the repetition of this tedious ceremony for three ſucceſſive days, and always in ſight of their nuptial bed, before they were allowed to perform the eſſential rites of marriage.

There are ſtill many deſcendants of the Portugueſe here, who, when their countrymen were forced to give up the dominion of the iſland to ours, choſe to remain under the government of the Dutch.

The principal Amboyneſe Chriſtians ſtill bear Portugueſe names, which their anceſtors received at their baptiſm; but the Portugueſe language is leſs ſpoken here, than in any other part of India, and the number of the abovementioned deſcendants of Portugueſe is not large.

Our countrymen who, in the year 1605, under the command of their admiral STEPHEN VAN DER HAGEN, took the caſtle of *Victoria*, which was the chief ſettlement of the Portugueſe upon the iſland, are now here abſolute maſters, as well over the peninſulas of *Hitoe* and *Leytimor*, as over the *Uliaſſers*, which

which comprehends the iſlands of *Oma*, *Honimoa*, *Nouſſa*, and *Molaria*, and likewiſe over *Manipa*, *Kelang*, *Bonoa*, the north coaſt of *Bouro*, *Little Ceram* or *Hoewamoehil*, and ſome places on *Great Ceram*; although a great part of the laſt century was elapſed before they were in full poſſeſſion of the coaſt of *Hitoe*, as well as of *Little Ceram*, on account of the oppoſition they met with from the *Quimelahas*, or Ternateſe governors, the king of *Ternate* looking upon part of theſe countries as his territory; and from the four chiefs of *Hitoe*, who refuſed to be deprived of their independance, and openly reſiſted the arms of the Company. But theſe obſtacles being now removed, the Company have little more to do than to oppoſe the attempts of foreign nations, and to prevent a clandeſtine trade with them, of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

Government at AMBOYNA.—*Counsel of Polity.*—*Revenues of the Governors.*—*Vice-Governor.*—*Commandant of the Military.*—*Resident of* HILA.—*Chief of* SEPAROUA.—*Fiscal.*—*Chief of* HAROUKO.—*Resident of* LARIKE.—*Chiefs of* BOURO, *and* MANIPA.—*Other Servants of the Company.*—*Allowance to the Company's Servants out of the Crop of Cloves.*—*Repartition of it among them.*—*Council of Justice.*—*Great Influence of the Governor.*—*Shameful Abuses.*—*Instance of unexampled Cruelty and Injustice.*—*Other Courts or Boards.*—*Clergymen and Ecclesiastical Matters.*

THE general administration of the affairs of this province is vested in a governor, who is appointed by the council of India, and is commonly one of the secretaries of the council, or one of the Company's servants at other out-factories; the second has seldom succeeded to the command, the reason of which I am ignorant of.

A council is appointed to assist the governor, consisting of the first qualified servants of

of the Company, whoſe advice and concurrence he is bound to have, in planning, arranging, and executing all matters of importance, as is the caſe in all the out-factories; but in how far the power of the governor is hereby circumſcribed, is eaſily deducible from the conſideration, that he poſſeſſes the power of diſmiſſing the counſellors from the Company's ſervice, and ſending them to *Batavia*, where it does not often happen that a ſuperior is caſt in any diſpute with an inferior; and the injured party ſeldom finds either redreſs or conſolation, unleſs he have powerful friends to make intereſt in his behalf. Beſides that ſuch a governor is able by a thouſand different means, and in indirect ways, to treat ſuch as he is diſpleaſed with, in ſo mortifying a manner, and to curtail their income and emoluments to ſuch a degree, that they would rather thank heaven to be out of his hands.

But this evil has, alas! been of long ſtanding; it will always be one of the moſt corroding cankers that conſume the vitals of the Company, and will at laſt bring the ſociety to deſtruction.

The revenues of a governor at *Amboyna* being

being but ſmall, on account of the little trade which is carried on here, and the conſequent extreme degree of fraud and oppreſſion that prevailed here, induced the government at *Batavia*, with the approbation of the directors at home, to come to a reſolution in the year 1755, to provide againſt the growing evil; and they therefore determined to give the governor a yearly additional allowance of ſix thouſand rixdollars, or fourteen thouſand four hundred guilders *.

This, added to other emoluments which long preſcription has legalized, is ſufficient to enable the governor to live according to his rank, without his being obliged to put ſuch means in practice, as one of the governors, whoſe name I ſhall not here mention, uſed to employ to double his revenues.

The vice-governor, or ſecond perſon in rank, is a ſenior merchant, and at the ſame time head-adminiſtrator, filling likewiſe, as is the cuſtom in all the out-factories, the office of commercial book-keeper: he is alſo preſident of the council of juſtice, and of the orphan-chamber.

* About 1300l. Sterling. *T.*

The

The third in rank is the commandant of the military, who has the rank, title, and pay of captain. He is the chief of all the troops in the whole province, the promotion of all the ſubaltern officers uſed formerly to be ſolely effected at his recommendation; but the advantages of this office were conſiderably curtailed by Mr. * * *, who even publicly ſold the places of ſerjeants and corporals in the military, for fifty, or one hundred rix-dollars, both to the Amboyneſe and to the Europeans, without the commandant daring to complain of his proceedings; and it now yields but a poor ſubſiſtence.

Upon this officer follows, the chief or reſident of *Hila*, who has the greateſt part of the north coaſt of *Hitoe*, and *Little Ceram Hoewamoehil*, under his management; next to *Saparoua*, his diſtrict is the moſt famous for the collection of cloves: he has a good income, and the rank of merchant.

The fifth in order is the chief of *Saparoua*; this factory lies in the iſland *Honimoa*; not only that iſland, but alſo *Nouſſa laut*, and part of *Great Ceram* belong to his juriſdiction. The firſt-named iſlands are very fertile, and yield more than half the annual quantity of cloves

cloves which are gathered in the province. The income of this reſident is computed to yield only in amount to that of the governor.

Next follows the fiſcal, who is equally a merchant in rank; his duty, as every where, is to take care that the property of the Company be not injured: he has likewiſe a concluding vote in the council of polity.

The ſixth is the chief of *Haroeko*, upon the iſland of *Oma*, to which alſo belongs a part of *Ceram:* he is generally a junior merchant.

The ſeventh is the chief of *Larike*. This factory ſtands on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of the land of *Hitoe*, and the iſland of *Amblauw*, which formerly belonged to *Bouro*, has lately been put under the juriſdiction of *Larike*.

The *Soldyboekhouder*, paymaſter, or garriſon book-keeper, is the eighth; who is, at the ſame time *Curator ad lites*, and preſident of the board of controul over marriages.

Theſe eight, together with the *winkelier*, or purveyor, who, as well as the laſt-mentioned officers, is a junior merchant, make the nine, who are appointed as a council of polity

lity to watch over the intereſts of the Company in conjunction with the governor.

They have a ſecretary, who has alſo the rank of junior merchant.

Upon theſe follow the reſidents of *Bouro* and *Manipa*, the caſhier, the ſecretary of the council of juſtice, who is at the ſame time firſt clerk in the office of the ſecretary of the council of polity, the *Negotie, en Soldy-overdraagers*, or the writers of the commercial and military ledgers, who are all book-keepers in rank; and laſtly, the comptroller of equipment, who had before the rank of ſea-lieutenant, but now that of ſea-captain.

To this province further belong four lieutenants of the military, and eleven enſigns.

In order to afford a better means of ſubſiſtence to all theſe placemen, a yearly repartition is made among them, according to their reſpective ranks, out of the annual crop of cloves; and I ſubjoin a ſtatement of the repartition which was made in the year 1755, agreeable to the regulation eſtabliſhed by the government at *Batavia*, on the 31ſt of May of the ſame year, which will at the ſame time give an idea of the quantity of cloves annually collected, viz.

In

In the Year 1755.

Factories.	Cloves collected in all.	Amount of ditto paid by the Company.		20 per cent. on the weight allowed to the Company's servants	Amount of ditto.	
at the chief settlements *New Victoria*	*lbs.* 115,767	*rixd.* 11,787	*stiv.* 8½	*lbs.* 23,153½	*rixd.* 2,357	*stiv.* 21
at the factory *Saparoua*	422,407	43,008	34½	84,480½	8,601	30½
—— *Hila*	149,606	15,232	29½	29,921½	3,046	25
—— *Haroeko*	39,231	3,994	20½	7,846½	798	42½
—— *Larike.*	49,114	5,000	33½	9,822½	1,00	25½
Total.	776,125	79,023	30½	155,228	15,805	00½

Repartition among the Company's servants of the above, viz. *of the* 100 *rixdollars.*

			rixd.	*stiv.*
to the governor and director - -	40	per cent.	6,322	—
to the senior merchant, second - -	12	-	1,896	29
to the captain commandant - - -	4	-	632	9½
to the merchant, chief of *Hila* - - -	7	-	1,106	16½
to ditto ditto of *Saparoua* - -	7	-	1,106	16½
to ditto fiscal - - -	6	-	948	14½
to the junior merchant, chief of *Haroeko* -	3	-	474	7½
to ditto ditto of *Larike* -	3	-	474	7½
to ditto, garrison book-keeper - -	2	-	316	4½
to ditto purveyor - - -	2	-	316	4½
to ditto secretary of the council of polity	2	-	316	4½
to the book-keeper, resident of *Bouro* - -	2	-	316	4½
to ditto cashier - - -	2	-	316	4½
to ditto resident of *Manipa* - -	1	-	158	2½
to ditto secretary of the council of justice	1	-	158	2½
to ditto writer of the commercial ledger	1	-	158	2½
to ditto ditto of the military ledger -	1	-	158	2½
to the comptroller of equipment - -	2	-	316	4½
to four lieutenants and eleven enfigns, together -	2	-	316	4½
	100	*rixd.*	15,805	00½

This

This method certainly gives a conſiderable ſupport to the ſuperior ſervants of the Company, and it is not at the charge of the Company, for it is the natives who pay it, and who are, at the ſame time, as it is ſaid, well ſatisfied with it; for they were formerly ſo much defrauded in the weights of the cloves they furniſhed by the chiefs of the ſeveral factories, that it is beyond belief, without the Company deriving any advantage from it; wherefore the ſupreme government, not knowing how to do otherwiſe to prevent the extortion of their ſervants, put the matter upon the preſent footing; by which it is ſettled, that of every hundred bhar cloves furniſhed by the natives, only eighty ſhall be delivered to the Company, while the other twenty are to form the perquiſites of their ſervants, who, however, are obliged to ſell their cloves to the Company at the ſame price paid to the natives. In addition to this, the council of juſtice and the fiſcal are ſtrictly enjoined to watch againſt all injuſtice, or fraud, on the receipt and weighing of the cloves collected, in order that any infraction of their regulations in this reſpect

ſpect may meet with an exemplary puniſhment.

The council of juſtice conſiſts of the ſecond, as preſident, and ſix members, who generally aſſemble every fortnight, in a lower apartment of the ſtadhouſe, or townhall. All civil and criminal cauſes are decided here; but in the former, an appeal can be made to the council of juſtice at *Batavia*; and the execution of ſentences in the latter, may be ſuſpended by the governor; yet if he approve them, whether they condemn the culprit to death, or to other corporal puniſhment, they are carried into execution; excepting, however, when the delinquent has the rank of merchant, and he is then ſent up to *Batavia*, with the papers relative to the proſecution, and copy of his ſentence; as is equally the caſe in all the other outfactories.

Although by an expreſs command of the ſupreme government, the governor here may not intermeddle in any matters which come under the cognizance of the council of juſtice, farther than to approve, or ſuſpend, their ſentences in criminal caſes, yet ſome of

of them arrogate to themſelves ſo much power in this reſpect, that, in the ſame manner as in the council of polity, they force a conformation to their will, or bid open defiance to juſtice and honeſty, if the members of the council refuſe to abet their iniquity.

How much ſoever juſtice may be adminiſtered here with ſeverity towards the inferior claſſes, it is a lamentable circumſtance, and as worthy of abhorrence as it is notorious, that the greateſt and moſt ſhameful crimes of perſons of high rank, or of favourites, remain unnoticed and unpuniſhed. I ſhall adduce one inſtance of this rank abuſe of authority, from which a judgment reſpecting others may be formed.

The chief of a certain factory upon one of the adjacent iſlands, having for ſome time beheld, with eyes of deſire, a young girl, ſcarcely fourteen years of age, and remarkably beautiful, who had been adopted by a perſon at *Amboyna*, and brought up in his own houſe, gave him and his family an invitation to pay him a viſit. The man accepted it with confidence and pleaſure, and went thither with his wife, his daughter,

and this girl. When, in the evening, the gueſts retired to reſt, it was ſo arranged by their hoſt, that the object of his licentious purſuit was conducted to a bed in a diſtant and ſolitary apartment; there being, as it was pretended, no beds, or room, in or near thoſe occupied by her friends.

In the dead of the night, when all, but the wakeful eyes of luſt, were cloſed in deep repoſe, this wretch ſtole to the apartment of the innocent maid, whom he had thus inveigled into his ſnares, and completed his long-concerted ſcheme of villany, by the moſt brutal violation of her charms. The poor victim of his luſt was found, the next morning, bathed in tears; and ſcarcely knowing that ſhe was undone, related the whole exactly as it happened. The perpetrator of this deed of violence moſt ſtrenuouſly denied the accuſation; but he pretended, that he very well knew who was the raviſher; it was, he ſaid, one of his ſlaves, an Amboyneſe, who had frequently before made uſe of his maſter's name to attain his purpoſe, and cover his enormities. Neither the ſtrong denial of the ſlave, nor the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations of the girl,

that

that the maſter, and no one elſe, had perpetrated the baſe action of the night, could ought avail; the monſter added murder to rape; and the wretched ſlave was tied up, and whipped ſo unmercifully and inceſſantly, that he expired in a few minutes.

As this man was a gentleman of rank, and one of the particular minions of the governor, the matter was never enquired into, and all reports concerning it were ſmothered as much as poſſible.

A kind of provincial court is likewiſe eſtabliſhed here, conſiſting in part of the Company's ſervants, and in part of the heads of ſome negrees, of whom the *rajahs* of *Nouſſanivel* and *Saya* are the firſt, and follow in rank upon the members of the council of polity.

The governor likewiſe convokes from time to time an aſſembly of the native chiefs, in which he makes ſuch orders public as he may have received from the government at *Batavia*, or which he may think neceſſary, and commands them to ſee them executed; for example, when a certain number of clove-trees are to be planted or deſtroyed, and other ſimilar matters.

Beſides theſe, there are an orphan-chamber, a court of aſſignees for bankrupt or inteſtate eſtates, a board of controul over marriages, and a court of common pleas.

The number of clergymen belonging to this government, is, I believe, when complete, ſix *, viz. four at the chief ſettlement and fort of *New Victoria*, one at *Hila*, and one at *Sapoura*; but when I was there, there was but one, the others being gone on a church-viſitation to *Banda*, and the ſouth-weſtern iſlands belonging to that government.

He that remained had been for a long time a journeyman-bricklayer in the province of *Gelderland*; but this trade not ſucceeding to his liking, he went out, in the year 1769, as *krankbezoeker* † to India; and, together with ſeveral others, he was ſent back to Holland, at the expence of Governor VAN

* On looking into the memorial of Governor MOSSEL, reſpecting the general ſtate of India, of the 30th November, 1753, I perceive that the number of clergymen, in the province of *Amboyna*, was then ſettled at three. *S.*

† *Krankbezoeker* is perfectly ſynonimous with *ziekentroofter*, for an explanation of which term ſee the note to page 515, of the firſt volume; the former is literally *a viſitor of the ſick*, as *ziekentroofter* is *a comforter of the ſick*. *T.*

DER

DER PARRA, to be fitted for taking orders, and he had returned the preceding year as a qualified divine, and had ſhortly afterwards been ſent to *Amboyna*, where there was little likelihood of his evangelical miſſion being remarkably exemplary, or ſucceſsful.

As this perſon did not underſtand the Malay language, and had alſo very little inclination to attain it, the divine ſervice at preſent adminiſtered in the Malay church, was confined to the reading of a ſermon, written in that language, which was effected by a *krankbezoeker*, who performed the office of clerk, and who was, as the abovementioned clergyman was pleaſed to ſay, when he had been ſcarcely a day or two at *Amboyna*, the only religious man on the iſland. However uncharitable and raſh the expreſſion of this opinion was, it is, however, a fact, that I met with very few people here who had a tolerable knowledge of the doctrines of the reformed religion, or even of the moral duties preſcribed by it.

There is a very conſiderable number of nominal chriſtians, and who have received baptiſm, as well on the peninſulas of *Leytimor*, as at other places. By an annotation

in a reſolution of the council of polity at *Amboyna*, of the 11th of March, 1774, it appeared, that the reverend Mr. VAN EINBRUG found, on a church-viſitation (which he had, however, by ſome obſtacles, been prevented from completing), in a part only of the places belonging to this government, the number of 21,124 nominal chriſtians, but only 843 church-members.

The ſuperſtitious reſpect which theſe nominal chriſtians pay to our clergymen, and a few outward ſigns of religion, are the principal marks by which they are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of their countrymen.

Beſides the regular clergy, there are *kranbezoekers*, and likewiſe ſtationary and itinerant ſchoolmaſters, who are all paid by the Company, and inſtruct the children of the Amboyneſe in reading, writing, and pſalmody, for which purpoſe a ſchool is eſtabliſhed in every negree, to which each inhabitant ſends his children free of expence.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VI.

The Europeans at AMBOYNA.—*Their Mode of Living.*—*The Women.*—*Dreſs.*—*Sedan-chairs.*—*Account of the Town.*—*Streets.*—*Churches.*—*Stadhouſe, or Townhall.*—*Hoſpital.*—*Houſes.*—*Springs.*—*Rivers.*—*Garden of the Governor.*—*Fortreſs of* NEW VICTORIA.—*Its Advantages and Defects.*—*Natural Strength of the Bay.*—*Propoſals for new Fortifications.*—*Other little Forts in this Province.*—*Buildings in the Caſtle; not yet completed. Expence of the Erection of the Fort, &c.*

THE number of Europeans, at leaſt of thoſe who have any quality in the ſervice of the Company, is ſo ſmall, that little can, in general, be ſaid with reſpect to any peculiar mode of living they may obſerve. One thing, however, is immediately an object of remark to ſtrangers, and that is, that in the forenoon, more ſtrong liquor is drank, either arrack or geneva, than at *Batavia*, or in the weſt of India; though at *Macaſſer* it is almoſt the ſame; ten or twelve drams is

not an uncommon whet in a morning at *Amboyna*; and on ſetting down to dinner, a glaſs of ſpirits is the firſt thing preſented to the gueſts, to ſtrengthen the ſtomach, and raiſe an appetite.

I found little pleaſure or ſociability here; which, I was told, was to be aſcribed to the late governor, whoſe diſtruſtful temper made him look upon all ſocial meetings with jealouſy; this did not ſeem improbable to me, as I found that a ſhort time before he left the iſland, and when he was not an object of apprehenſion or hope, as before, both ſocial intercourſe, and innocent gaiety, became daily more prevalent, which afforded much ſatiſfaction to the new governor.

The common Europeans, both ſoldiers and mechanics, have very little opportunity of earning any money here, and their pay affords them little elſe than ſago, and at moſt rice, with a little fiſh, for food, and water, *ſagwire*, or arrack, for drink. The ſoldiers make a very ſhabby appearance; their uniform is made of blue linen, and hangs in tatters about them; without ſhoes or ſtockings; excepting, indeed, the body-guards of the governor: they attend the parade

parade barefooted, and are badly diſciplined: to this picture may be added, an unhealthy, dropſical, and feeble habit of body, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of *ſagwire*, to which, too, is attributed the circumſtance of their all having ſwoln and ulcerated legs; though this latter complaint is as rife among the ſailors and mechanics, as among the military: their number is never complete, notwithſtanding the ſupplies that are ſent every year from *Batavia*.

There are very few women here, born of European fathers and mothers; but there are a great number of a mixed race, as many Europeans take Indian women for concubines, whoſe children are afterwards legitimated, and incorporated into the European nation*.

Married women live here very retired; they do not often mix in company with the men, and ſtill more ſeldom enter into converſation

* At *Amboyna*, the children of European fathers, and Indian mothers, are called *Mixtices*, who are of an olive complexion; the children of a *Mixtice* and an European, are called *Poeſtices*; and thoſe of a *Poeſtice* and an European, are *Caſtices*, who are nearly as fair as Europeans; after which no diſtinction is made, but the children proceeding from further unions are reckoned among the Europeans. *T.*

with

with them; every thing that is addreſſed to them is anſwered by a ſingle affirmative, or negative. I was told, that being always accuſtomed to ſpeak the Malay tongue, they felt awkward, and were apprehenſive of expreſſing themſelves wrong in the Dutch; yet I obſerved the ſame reſerve, and want of power to carry on a converſation, when they were ſpeaking in the Malay language, as when they were addreſſed in Dutch. Society is, then, here divided into male and female, by which, in my opinion, all company is rendered dull, formal, and diſagreeable.

The dreſs of the ladies is like that of thoſe at *Batavia*. The men dreſs in the European faſhion, with this peculiarity however, that the greateſt contraſt in colours is ſought after, for inſtance, blue ſilk breeches, with ſcarlet waiſtcoat, and black or dark brown coats, and *vice verſâ*.

No carriages are ſeen here; indeed, there are no roads fit for them, for the country is every where both mountainous and rocky, ſo that it can even ſcarcely be traverſed on horſeback. A ſort of ſedan-chairs are made uſe of, in the room of carriages, with which the

the Amboyneſe run up and down the moſt dangerous paths in the mountains, without there being hardly a ſingle example of their letting them fall, or overturning them.

The town of *Amboyna*, if a place without gates or walls may deſerve that name, lies on the peninſula of *Leytimor*, at the northweſt ſide, about half way between the point of *Nouſſanivel* and the *paſs of Baguewala*, in a ſloping plain, at the foot of the mountains of *Soya*, which ſurround it behind, and end at the *Rooden-berg*, or *Red-hill*, about two hundred and twenty roods, E.N.E. from the caſtle.

The town itſelf, without the adjacent negrees, which may be conſidered as ſuburbs, forms an oblong, irregular ſquare, bounded by the *Bato gadja*, or *Elephant's* river, on one ſide, and the *Way tomo* on the other. According to the plan of the town, made and delineated in the year 1718, ſince which time no material alterations have been made in it, its length is full three hundred roods, from N.E. to S.W. and its breadth full one hundred, from the bay, ſoutheaſtward.

The interſections, called ſtreets, croſs each

each other at right angles; many of them are pretty wide, but none of them are paved.

Of the public buildings, the Dutch and Malay churches were both much damaged and nearly deſtroyed by the violent earthquake of the year 1755, the former in ſo far, that it was forced to be wholly pulled down, in order to be entirely rebuilt; in this work, however, little progreſs had been made, when I was there, and ſervice was, in the mean time, performed under a ſhed, built of *gabbe gabbas*, and covered with *atap*: the Malay church was ſplit in ſuch a manner from top to bottom, that for many years it has not been feaſible to perform any ſervice in it, which is now done, on Sunday afternoon, in the ſhed appointed to ſerve as a ſubſtitute for the Dutch church.

The *ſtadhouſe*, or townhall, is likewiſe an old and ruinous building; behind it is a large ſquare area, round which are many little apartments, which ſerve for places of confinement for priſoners.

The hoſpital ſtands juſt out of the town, on the other ſide of the *Way tomo*. It was entirely rebuilt a few years ago. Near it

is

is a houſe appointed for the reſidence of the ſuperintendant of the hoſpital. This hoſpital is one of the beſt, and fitteſt for the purpoſe, belonging to our Company, which I have ſeen in *India:* the building is a very good one, the ſick are well treated in it, and by the excellent attention of the preſent ſuperintendant, Mr. HENGEVELD, they are kept extremely clean and neat.

The houſe of the governor, which was formerly the Company's cloth-warehouſe, and is ſtill known by that name in their books, has not much to recommend it; its appearance is mean, and there are few, and thoſe very indifferent, rooms in it.

The houſes are, in general, of one ſtory, many of them are built of wood, and almoſt all are covered with *atap*; this mode of building is adopted becauſe of the dreadful and frequent earthquakes to which this country is ſubject. The houſes are commodious enough, according to the cuſtom of the country, but have not a very elegant appearance. Inſtead of glaſs, frames of matted cane are uſed for the ſake of air, and likewiſe I believe not a little in order to ſave expence. Moſt of them have

little

little gardens, or large ſquare yards behind them, in which there is commonly a well of very good water.

Springs are very numerous here; going only along the ſhores of the bay, and ſcooping, where there is the leaſt bit of beach, a little hole with one's hand in the ſand, it is immediately filled with ſweet freſh water, and that even ſometimes at no greater diſtance than five or ſix feet from the ſalt water. This owes its cauſe, in all probability, to the nature of the ſoil, which is every where porous and ſandy, and imbibes the rain almoſt as ſoon as it has fallen: I have ſeen that in moſt places, after the moſt inceſſant and violent rains, which laſted for three days, and raiſed torrents of water ruſhing through the town, there have been no viſible marks left, at the end of only two hours, of its having rained at all: and I was aſſured that it was exactly the ſame caſe, when the rains continued for three or four weeks, as frequently happened during the bad monſoons.

The rivers which run along or through the town, or the adjacent negrees, are, the *Bato gadja*, or *Elephant*'s river; the *Way tomo*,

toma, which runs between the town, to the S.W. and the negrees *Soya* and *Mandhika*, to the N.E.; the *Way nitoe*, which divides the negree of *Italong* in two; and the *Way atlat*, which runs between this laſt and the Mooriſh negree.

The three firſt have their ſource in the mountains of *Soya*, and the laſt deſcends chiefly from the *Roodenberg*.

I have before obſerved that theſe rivers, in the good monſoons, or dry ſeaſons, can only be looked upon as little rivulets, moiſtening but a ſmall part of their beds; but that in the bad monſoons, or rainy ſeaſons, they ſwell up to a conſiderable height, and run with ſuch force and rapidity, upon the rain continuing any time, that they carry away all before them, and even the bridges which are built over them.

Juſt above the town, upon the *Bato gadja*, a garden has been laid out, and a good houſe built, by Governor VAN DER STEL, at the expence of the Company, which very much reſembles that called *Vergleegen*, which his brother, when governor at the *Cape of Good Hope*, made in *Hottentot Holland*, alſo at the expence

expence of the Company. This is the only garden of conſideration that I ſaw at *Amboyna*, though there are, here and there, a few others, which are called gardens, but which ſolely conſiſt of a wood of ſago-trees, and a plantation of cocoanut-trees; that, however, of *Hative* excepted, which at preſent belongs to the engineer VAN WAGNER, and which may be called a handſome piece of ground for *Amboyna*.

As the keeping of the firſtmentioned garden was a conſiderable annual expence to the Company, the government at *Batavia* thought fit, in the year 1769, to transfer the ſame to the governor for the time being, for a certain ſum of money, for which his ſucceſſor is obliged, in his turn, to take it over: Mr. VAN DER V—— paid, if I am not miſtaken, two thouſand rixdollars * for it, to the Company.

Near it is a menagery, in which are kept, among others, ſome very beautiful ſpeckled deer.

The governors generally reſide at this place, when there is nothing to call for their

* About 4,400*l.* ſterling. *T.*

preſence

preſence at the town, or when there are no ſhips in the bay.

The chief, if not the only fortreſs, which the Company have at *Amboyna*, is the caſtle or fort; which, after it was rebuilt, was called *New Victoria*, as the old fort called *Victoria*, which had been erected by the Portugueſe, being an oblong ſquare, with four baſtions, was ſo much damaged by the earthquake of the year 1755, that it was thought more eligible to build an entire new fort, than to repair the old one.

It ſtands cloſe to the waterſide, a little to the weſt of the mouth of the *Way Nitoe*, and exactly oppoſite to the road, where ſhips commonly lie at anchor.

I took much pains to procure a plan of it, but the ſtrict integrity of the preſent acting engineer, Mr. H. E. VON WAGNER, was proof againſt the ſolicitations of friendſhip, and however much, in other things, he proved both willing and anxious to give me every teſtimony of his inclination to render me ſervice, I could not, in this inſtance, perſuade him to lend me a plan of the fort for ever ſo ſhort a time, in order to take a copy of it; I cannot therefore ſay

any thing reſpecting the dimenſions of the works, and ſhall only deſcribe the general appearance of the fort.

Its ſhape is very irregular; on the land-ſide, it has three entire and one demi-baſtion, which, with their curtains, form part of a regular heptagon: on the water-ſide, there are two baſtions, in the curtain between which ſtands the watergate, in the ſame manner, as the landgate open between the two oppoſite baſtions, on the landſide.

The curtain, or battery, which runs north from the eaſternmoſt land-baſtion, is met by a ſimilar one coming from the eaſtern-moſt ſea-baſtion, making an obtuſe angle of between 90° and 100°, ſo that the line of defence of the face of the eaſternmoſt land-baſtion runs exactly upon this angle; and the flanks of theſe baſtions are there-fore without defence, which is an unpar-donable fault in the firſt conſtruction of the fort, as the nature of the ground did not require this irregular mode of fortification: Mr. von Wagner intended to remedy this fault, as much as poſſible, by making a de-tached baſtion before the angle made by the

two

two batteries, by which theſe two flanks would be defended.

From the demi-baſtion, on the weſt ſide, a battery runs northward, and being met by another coming from the weſternmoſt ſea-baſtion, they form together an inverted obtuſe angle.

The ſea-baſtions, which are liable to be attacked by the greateſt force, are carried up ſomewhat higher, and are rather larger than the others; they are covered with bonnets in the middle of their faces, in order to be the better provided againſt an enfilade.

A hornwork extends before theſe baſtions, and covers the curtain between them; its projecting angles command the ſhore both above and below the caſtle, by which a landing any where near it is rendered very difficult, if not impoſſible.

All theſe works are built of brick, for which purpoſe many brickkilns have been erected here, where very good bricks are made.

They were then about making a covered-way, to begin from the flank of the weſtern

ſea-baſtion, and to run round the fortreſs to the other ſide of the eaſtern ſea-baſtion.

The whole is encircled by a wet ditch, which is the ſame that formerly run round the outworks of the old fort.

This is certainly the beſt fortification belonging to the Company, that I have ſeen, in India. Yet it is, by no means, favourably ſituated, on account of the near neighbourhood of the *Roodenberg*, and the lowneſs of its ſcite, by which, in my opinion, it would not be able to make any long or effectual reſiſtance, if the enemy were once landed, and could get their artillery on ſhore, ſo as to erect batteries on the ſurrounding heights.

The ſame defect occurs likewiſe on the ſide that looks towards the bay; for ſhips, if properly moored, can enfilade moſt of the lines of defence, at high water; the water riſing here, in ſpring tides, full ten feet; and the hornwork, which is full one-half lower than the main body of the place, is conſequently ſtill more expoſed.

I purpoſely add the ſuppoſition that the ſhips be properly moored; for the greateſt

ſtrength

ſtrength of the place reſts upon the impracticability of bringing ſhips to attack it in a proper ſituation. As there is no anchoring-ground except cloſe to the ſhore, the ſhips are expoſed to the fire of forty or fifty pieces of heavy artillery long before they are able to let go their anchors, and put ſprings upon their cables, in order to haul the veſſels round; and all this is not ſo eaſily done under ſuch a fire, if the artillery upon the batteries be but well ſerved.

The nature of the bay too, the prevailing winds which blow here, and the calms which are not unfrequent, together with the ſtrong currents ſetting continually in and out of the bay, are formidable obſtacles to prevent ſhips from forming their attack, whilſt under ſail, and much more from making good a landing here; for which reaſon a landing muſt be attempted at a more convenient place, which might perhaps be found, either in the bight near *Hamahoeſe*, or in the *Portugueſe* bay.

And, although the old fort of *Victoria* is not to be compared, in point of ſtrength, to the preſent one, I do not believe that our people would ever have ſucceeded, in the

year 1605, in getting poſſeſſion of *Amboyna*, or rather of the peninſula of *Leytimor*, attacking it, at leaſt, as they did, at this place, had the Portugueſe defended this ſettlement with the ſame bravery as they did their other poſſeſſions, and not given it up in ſo cowardly a manner.

There is another great defect, at leaſt it appeared in that light to me, namely, the great extent of the fort. It is ſo large, that if all the works were to be properly manned, all the military to be found here, would ſcarcely be ſufficient to defend one half of them. Moreover, no leſs than a hundred pieces of cannon are requiſite to provide all the batteries as they ought to be, and there are no more than fifty or ſixty cannoneers in the whole province.

In order to fortify the bay ſtill more, the engineer, Von Wagner, has propoſed to erect two new batteries, viz. one, a ſhort mile ſouthweſt of *Victoria*, at the mouth of the *Elephants*-river, to command the part of the bay, called the *Vrymans*, or *free merchants'* road, and to be able to rake the ſhips which may lie to the weſtward of the caſtle; and another upon the point of the *Laha*,

Laha, for which all ſhips coming up the bay muſt ſteer in a ſtrait direction, in order to keep cloſe in with the windward ſhore; which propoſal has met with the approbation of the ſupreme government at *Batavia*.

Perhaps another battery near or upon the point of *Alang*, would be of ſtill greater utility, for ſhips entering the bay muſt equally ſteer ſtrait for, and very cloſe along, it, in order not to be in danger of being driven to leeward of the bay, by the currents.

I did not ſee any of the other little forts which the Company have at *Hila*, *Sapoura*, *Harouko*, and *Larike*; but, according to the information I received reſpecting them, they are of little conſequence, and at moſt ſtrong enough to keep the natives in awe*.

The

* The other forts in this province, are: upon the iſland of *Amboyna*, Fort *Amſterdam*, which mounts ſixteen guns, at *Hila*; Fort *Rotterdam*, at *Larike*; the redoubt *Middleburg*, at the *Paſs of Baguewala*; and a ſmall triangular fort near *Oerien*, called *Fluſhing*: upon *Bouro*, the palliſadoed fort *Defence*, mounting fourteen iron guns; upon *Manipa*, the redoubt *Wantrouw*, or *Diſtruſt*, of the ſame force; upon *Hoewamoebil*, Fort *Hardenberg* at *Cambello*, and Fort *Overburg* at *Loeboe*; upon *Nouſſalaut*, a ſmall redoubt of four guns, called *Beverwyck*; upon *Honimoa*, the redoubt *Velſen*, having five guns, at

The buildings within the Fort of *New Victoria* are not yet all finiſhed; there are, however, already two powder-magazines, the rice and ſpice-warehouſes, the naval ſtorehouſe, the proviſion-warehouſe, the dwellinghouſe of the comptroller of equipment, and the guardhouſe at the landgate; but no beginning has yet been made with the government-houſe, or the dwellings for the ſenior merchant, and the captain commandant of the military; the watergate is likewiſe not entirely completed.

Mr. VAN DER V—— told me, that the erection of this fortreſs had already coſt the Company two millions of gilders*; but the engineer, VON WAGNER, ſtated the expence of it conſiderably lower.

the point of *Tetawaroe*; the redoubt *Delft*, of ſix guns, at *Porto*, and Fort *Duurſteede* at *Sapoura*; and upon *Oma*, Fort *Zeelandia* at *Harouko*. The capture of *Amboyna* and *Banda* by the Engliſh, will afford opportunities to us of becoming fully acquainted with every particular reſpecting thoſe remote but valuable and intereſting ſettlements. It is to be hoped that ſome of the gentlemen of the navy or army who went upon that expedition, will favour the public with an account of theſe acquiſitions; men of genius and obſervation are not wanting either among our naval or military officers, and a narrative of the expedition alluded to, may not only be ſaid to be deſired, but alſo to be expected, from ſome of them. *T.*

* About 181,200*l.* ſterling. *T.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

The Clove-trade.—Endeavours of the Dutch to retain it excluſively to themſelves.—Attempts of the Engliſh to participate in it.—Garriſons and Eſtabliſhment at AMBOYNA.*—Profits and Charges of this Province.—Reflections on the Clove-trade.—Large Stock of Cloves.—Endeavoured to be diminiſhed by Extirpations; and by burning great Quantities.—The Hongitogt, or yearly Expedition of the Governor round* CERAM, *&c.—Earthquake at* AMBOYNA.

THE chief, if not the ſole, advantage derived to the Company from the poſſeſſion of *Amboyna* and its dependencies, is the collection of cloves, and the maſtery of this article to the excluſion of all other nations, by which they are enabled, at pleaſure, to raiſe, or lower, the price.

This gave riſe, at an early period, after the conqueſt of the iſland, to much jealouſy and animoſity between the Dutch and the Engliſh, and theſe diſputes did not terminate with the expulſion of the latter from the iſland,

iſland, but were made a pretence, many years afterwards, for declaring war againſt the republic: they were not finally ſettled till the concluſion of the peace of *Breda*, in the year 1667.

The Company would not, however, ever have ſucceeded in ſecuring to themſelves the excluſive trade in this ſpice, which is ſpontaneouſly produced in all the adjacent *Molucca* iſlands, had they not endeavoured wholly to transfer, and confine, the cultivation of it to *Amboyna*; partly by ſubduing the princes of thoſe iſlands by force of arms, and preſcribing to them ſuch conditions of peace as they found convenient, the principal of which had relation to the clove-trade, eſpecially with reſpect to the kings of *Ternate*, *Tidore*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*, compelling them not to ſell any of the cloves, produced in their dominions, to any other nation; and partly, by forcing them, about the middle of the laſt century, to deſtroy all the clove-trees, which grew in their territories, for which they were to receive an equivalent in money.

In the ſame manner, the Company have entered into a contract with the king of *Bouton*,

Bouton, to whoſe dominion many places belong, which yield ſpices, that he ſhall not only allow the extirpator, whom they diſpatch every year on an expedition through the iſlands, to perform the ſervice on which he is ſent, but ſhall alſo afford him every aſſiſtance in doing it.

Yet, notwithſtanding all this, and how far ſoever they may be able to extend their extirpations in the circumjacent countries, they will never be able wholly to prevent other nations from procuring ſpices without their intermediation. There are too many iſlands, and too widely diſperſed, that produce theſe commodities, of which neither they, nor their allies, are in poſſeſſion, or poſſibly can be, without entirely exhauſting themſelves by the erection of numerous fortreſſes, which are indiſpenſably neceſſary, if all intercourſe with foreign nations muſt be prevented*.

Thus

* However aſſiduous the Dutch are in the deſtruction of ſpice-trees, they never have, or can, ſucceed in extirpating them all. It is only in places of eaſy acceſs, and near the ſea, that they are generally cut down, but they grow abundantly in many retired ſpots of the large and woody iſland of *Gilolo*, in the receſſes of *Ceram*, upon *Ouby*, *Myſol*, in the foreſts of *Bachian*, as well as upon *Cadoepan*, and many other iſlands, where

Thus the Engliſh formed a ſettlement ſome years ago upon the iſland *Xullock*, lying north of the *Moluccas*; but as the indifferent quality of the ſoil, and other circumſtances, did not anſwer their purpoſes in forming ſuch an eſtabliſhment, they changed it for *Balambangan*, an iſland on the north-eaſt coaſt of *Borneo*, in order to lay the foundation there for a place of trade, whither the clandeſtine dealers in ſpice might bring their goods, and thus furniſh our rivals with the articles out of which we endeavour to keep them.

where they are inacceſſible to the deſtructive ax of the extirpator; and what is actually deſtroyed, is not, perhaps, the hundredth part of the trees producing the precious ſpices. The parties ſent out on ſuch buſineſs, generally conſiſt of a military officer, or ſome civil ſervant belonging to the Dutch, with three or four European attendants, and perhaps twenty or thirty Bugguеſs ſoldiers, with their officer. They generally make it a party of pleaſure; and the Bugguеſs officer (while the chief is regaling himſelf in the heat of the day) ſets off to the woods with ſome of his men, where he executes his commiſſion juſt as it ſuits his convenience; taking care to bring back plenty of branches, to ſhew his aſſiduity, when, perhaps, they are all from one tree. Sometimes a ſerjeant at an outpoſt, to get into favour with his chief, ſends an account of his having diſcovered, on a certain ſpot, a parcel of ſpice-trees; with news, perhaps, at the ſame time, that he has deſtroyed them all: poſſibly the chief's domeſtics might inform him of many more ſuch ſpots at hand, but they are too wiſe to ſay much on ſo delicate a ſubject. *T.*

The

The garriſons which the Company keep in this province, were fixed, in the year 1752, at nine hundred men, including the ſeamen and the penniſts. His excellency, Governor MOSSEL, ſays, in his further memorial, written in the year 1753, that this number is ſufficient, ſince *Amboyna* has nothing to fear from an European enemy*.

By that memorial, the profits which accrue annually to the Company upon the ſale of goods, are eſtimated at forty thouſand gilders; the proceeds of the rent of lands, exciſe duties, a duty of five per cent upon the ſale of real property, the ſtamp duties, and the produce of the permits granted for the importation and exportation of private merchandize, are computed to be thirty thouſand gilders; and all the receipts are, conſequently, taken at ſeventy thouſand gilders; which ſum, by a further memorial of economy, was reduced to ſixty-ſix thouſand gilders: and even this latter ſum is not now drawn

* In 1776-1777, the whole eſtabliſhment at *Amboyna* conſiſted of fifty-two in civil employments, three clergymen, twenty-eight ſurgeons and aſſiſtants, forty-ſix belonging to the artillery, 174 ſeamen and marines, 657 ſoldiers, and 111 mechanics, in all 1071 Europeans; beſides fifty-nine natives in the Company's ſervice. *T.*

from

from thoſe objects; ſixty or ſeventy bales of coarſe piecegoods, which are annually diſpoſed of here at an advance of from ſeventy to eighty per cent, the good vent whereof likewiſe depends much upon the ſucceſs or failure of the crop of cloves, do not ſuffice, with the other revenues, to make up that amount.

According to the abovementioned memorial of Governor MOSSEL, the annual charges of this government ought not to exceed one hundred and eighty-five thouſand gilders, in order that the defalcation on the four eaſtern provinces ſhould not be more than four hundred thouſand gilders a year; but, by the lateſt memorial, the charges of *Amboyna* were ſtated at *f.*176,518. 0. 0; and, in the five laſt years, they have averaged yearly *f.*265,549. 10. 11, ſo that they actually amount to *f.*89,031. 10. 11 every year, more than MOSSEL ſtated them at*.

Theſe,

* The calculations of General MOSSEL of the revenues and charges of the ſeveral eſtabliſhments of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company, are always particularly mentioned in this work, and contraſted with the actual amounts of each in the year 1779 (that is, from the 1ſt of September, 1778, to the 31ſt of Auguſt, 1779), that year being in the books of the Company one

Theſe, as well as the charges of the government of *Macaſſer* and *Ternate*, muſt be defrayed out of the profits upon the cloves, nutmegs, and mace, which muſt, likewiſe, contribute towards making good the expences of the Company at *Batavia* and at home; but can any favourable expectations of future advantage be entertained on this head, when we conſider the great decreaſe which is experienced in the ſale of the firſt named ſpice? Three millions of pounds remaining ſtill in the warehouſes at *Batavia*,

one which they call *het boekjaar*, or year in which a general review is taken of all their concerns, as is done every ten years; becauſe the calculations of that gentleman have not only formed the baſis upon which the revenues and charges of each ſettlement, as ſtated in the famous *Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique* of Abbé RAYNAL, have been computed, but have alſo obtained a great and almoſt deciſive authority in eſtabliſhing the advantages or diſadvantages reaped by the Dutch from their Indian poſſeſſions. In the courſe of this work, they frequently appear to be conſiderably different from the actual amount of the receipts and expenditure, and are, in fact, rather calculations of what theſe ought to be, than what they really are. In 1779, the charges of *Amboyna* were *f.*201,082; and the whole of the revenues, including the profits upon the ſale of goods (five per cent on the ſale being allowed to the governor and ſecond, two-thirds to the former, and one-third to the latter), amounted to no more than *f.*48,747, leaving a balance againſt the Company of *f.*152,335, or about 13,850*l.* ſterling. *T.*

of

of which no more than one-fifteenth part can be annually diſpoſed of in the Indies, together with a ſtock on hand in Holland, large enough to ſupply the conſumption of Europe for the ſpace of ten years, and the quantities of cloves that from time to time are committed to the flames by the Company, in order to leſſen their ſuperabundant ſtock, form proofs enough of the decreaſe of the clove-trade, and do not require further animadverſion than the bare mention of them*.

On

* Every clove-tree is calculated to produce annually, upon an average, two, or two and a half, pounds of cloves, ſo that the yearly crop is at leaſt one million pounds per annum from the 500,000 clove-trees allowed to be cultivated; much larger crops are frequently made, though in ſome years they fall materially ſhort, and yield but a trifling quantity. One of the largeſt ſales of cloves made in Holland, was in the year 1714, when 435,427 pounds were ſold; in 1758, no more than 200,000 pounds were ſold; in 1778, 234,271 pounds; and in 1788, 400,000 pounds; and about 150,000, or 200,000 pounds are annually diſpoſed of in the Indies. The quantities of cloves always remaining over in the hands of the Company, notwithſtanding their continual extirpations, muſt, therefore, be immenſe; they endeavour to moderate this ſuperfluity by burning large quantities of ſpices from time to time; Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE ſays, in his Obſervations upon Holland, that a Dutchman, who had been at the Spice-iſlands, told him, that he ſaw, at one time, three heaps of nutmegs burnt, each of which

On a ſuperficial view, when we are told that every pound of cloves only ſtands the Company in 4¾ ſtivers, the mace in 9½ ſtivers, and the nutmegs about half as cheap as the cloves, it ſhould ſeem that the Spice-iſlands

which was more than an ordinary church could hold; in 1760, M. Beaumare ſaw at *Amſterdam*, near the admiralty, a fire of ſpices, the fuel of which was valued at 1,000,000 of livres, and as much was to be burnt on the day following; the tranſlator of this work has himſelf been witneſs to the burning of large quantities of cloves, nutmegs, and cinnamon, upon the little iſland of *Newland*, near *Middleburgh*, in *Zealand*, the aromatic ſcent whereof perfumed the air for many miles around. Although the Dutch have thus, by all the means in their power, endeavoured to counteract the indulgent bounty of heaven, they have not, in any inſtance, attained their object; for, excluſive of the impoſſibility of preventing the ſpontaneous production of ſpices in the extenſive woods of hundreds of iſlands, of which they ſcarcely know the names or ſituation, and the conſtant clandeſtine trade carried on in ſpices, by the Papuas, Cerammers, Bougineſe, and Chineſe, the conſumption of, and demands for, cloves, have ſo much decreaſed, that the monopoly is no more worth the expences of retaining it excluſively: and in regard to nutmegs, they have been the dupes of their own avarice; for, confining as much as poſſible, the cultivation of that ſpice to the iſlands of *Banda*, it was nearly annihilated there in the year 1778, by a violent hurricane and earthquake, and few ſupplies of conſideration have been obtained for ſeveral years afterwards. When Admiral Rainier took poſſeſſion of *Amboyna*, in 1796, he found, in the treaſury, 81,112 rixdollars, and in ſtore 515,940*lb.* of cloves. The importations into England, by the

iſlands afford an inexhauſtible ſource of riches, ſince the ſelling price exceeds the coſt in ſo uncommon a degree; but if we go farther, and conſider that theſe three articles of trade muſt bear the whole expence of all the four eaſtern provinces, to which muſt be added the charges of ſeven or eight ſhips, employed in fetching them, it will be found that they, in fact, coſt very dear.*

The great ſuperfluity of cloves has, indeed, been endeavoured to be prevented by diminiſhing the number of clove-trees, from

East-India Company, ſince the capture of the Spice-iſlands, till the preſent time (October, 1798), have been as follows:

cloves,	817,312 pounds.
nutmegs,	93,732 do.
mace,	46,730 do.

beſides conſiderable quantities of each in private trade and privilege goods, namely,

100 caſes 20 caſks	cloves,	weighing, we ſuppoſe, about	30,000*lb.*
81 caſes 76 caſks 29 cheſts	nutmegs,	do.	36,000
7 boxes 12 caſes 167 baſk^ts. 1131 cheſts	mace,	do.	240,000

T.

* See *Secreete bedenkingen over den waaren ſtaat der Nederlandſche Compagnie*, by J. Mossel, Sections liii. and liv. S.

time

time to time, by extirpations; but by this means the Company ruin their Amboyneſe ſubjects; and if fortune ſhould ever again favour them, and the vent of this article be again as large as heretofore, they would find that they were poſſeſſed of the ſoil for producing them, but not of clove-trees, which require more years to arrive at maturity, than moments to be deſtroyed.

I ſhould now have to make ſome mention of the *bongitogt*, or yearly expedition of the governor of *Amboyna*, with a fleet of *corrocorros*, round *Ceram*, and the neighbouring iſlands, if VALENTYN had not ſo amply related every particular of it, that I can only add, that it did not take place during the time I was at *Amboyna*, the month of October being the period appointed for it.*

Between

* The *bongi*, or fleet of armed *corrocorros* of *Amboyna*, was inſtituted by Governor HOUTMAN, in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century. In the month of October, the faireſt ſeaſon of the year, they aſſemble in the bay of *Amboyna*; all the different *rajahs*, and *orancayos*, are then bound to appear with their *corrocorros*, in order to accompany the governor in this annual expedition round the iſlands under his juriſdiction. It is undertaken for the purpoſe of examining into, and deciding upon, all diſputes that may ariſe among

Between the 18th and 19th of April, we felt here an earthquake, which laſted full

the Indians that are ſubject to the Company; of preventing and diſcovering all illicit trade; and of deſtroying ſuch ſpice-trees as are found growing in places where they are not allowed: one chief purpoſe, however, is, that numbers of the common people, who are obliged, by their tenure, to ſerve the Company during one month in the year, are by this means taken away from the collection of the crop of cloves which falls in about this time, and which is, in conſequence, much leſſened for want of hands, it being, as we have before ſeen, a great object of policy in the Company to prevent a too abundant ſupply. They are obliged to maintain themſelves during this expedition, which laſts five or ſix weeks, except that the Company allow each man one and a half, or two pounds of rice per day; and to the *orangcayos*, when they ſet out, three gallons of arrack, twelve pounds of pork, or beef, and a meaſure of rice. This expedition has, at different times, been neglected; but the annual performance of it has been frequently enjoined by the government at *Batavia*, and in particular in the years 1680, 1688, and 1693, when the coaſts of *Ceram* were greatly infeſted by the incurſions of the Papuas. The *Hongi*-fleet generally conſiſts of forty, fifty, or ſixty veſſels; when complete, it ſhould conſiſt of ſixty-one *corracorras*, viz.

6 from the iſland of *Oma*
3 from the coaſt of *Ceram*, under *Oma*
4 from the iſland *Manipa*
14 from the diſtrict of Fort *Victora*, upon *Amboyna*
6 from the peninſula of *Hitoe*
1 from the coaſt of *Ceram*, under *Hitoe*
8 from the iſland *Honimoa*
3 from the iſland *Nouſſa-laut*

8 from

full five minutes. The dull rumbling noiſe that accompanied it, and the undulating motion,

8 from the iſland *Ceram*
3 from the diſtrict of *Larike*
and 5 from the iſland of *Bouro*

61.

If any village is unable to join the fleet with their appointed *corracorras*, or is excuſed from the ſervice by the governor, they muſt burn a kiln of lime for the Company; and if they wilfully neglect it, they are ſubject to arbitrary puniſhment. The governor uſed formerly to carry his flag on the *corracorra* of the rajah of *Nouſſanivel*, but the rajah of *Titaway* has now that privilege; this *corracorra* is one of four *gnadjos*, or ranks of paddlers, and is provided with two or three handſome apartments for the accommodation of the governor, who is attended by a guard of fifty or ſixty ſoldiers. The fleet is divided into three diviſions, the firſt being all *corracorras* of Chriſtian chiefs, the ſecond of Mahomedans, and the third partly of Chriſtians and partly of Pagan chiefs. In order to give an idea of the force of ſuch a fleet, we ſubjoin a ſtatement, from VALENTYN, of that which went on the *Hongi* expedition of the year 1706, under Governor VAN DER STEL; it conſiſted of fifty-ſix *corracorras*, namely,

Seven of four *gnadjos*, or banks of paddlers *(quadriremes)*.

corra-corras.	manned with		armed with		*corra-corras.*	manned with		armed with	
	paddlers.	other men.	ſwi-vels.	muſ-quetoons.		paddlers.	other men.	ſwi-vels.	muſ-quetoons.
1	77	24	2	1	1	64	20	0	15
1	71	36	1	5	1	60	20	2	0
1	67	36	0	2	1	60	16	2	2
1	64	22	0	0					

motion, ſeemed to run in a direction from S.W. to N.E. The thermometers did not

Forty-nine of three *gnadjos (triremes)*.

corro-corros.	manned with paddlers.	manned with other men.	armed with ſwivels.	armed with muſquetoons.
1	95	18	1	2
1	70	20	3	3
1	70	20	0	1
1	70	12	1	0
1	70	10	1	1
1	65	25	0	2
1	65	21	1	1
1	62	20	4	0
1	61	24	3	0
1	61	16	1	1
1	60	20	2	3
1	60	20	2	2
1	60	20	1	3
1	60	10	1	1
1	60	10	1	0
1	60	10	0	1
1	59	15	0	0
1	58	26	2	1
1	58	20	0	0
1	58	15	1	6
1	58	12	0	4
1	56	14	0	1
1	55	22	2	2
1	55	20	2	2
1	55	20	2	0
1	55	16	4	0
1	55	12	1	0
1	55	10	0	1
1	54	22	0	0
1	54	7	0	0
1	53	18	2	3
1	53	18	1	1
1	53	10	2	1
1	53	10	1	1
1	50	25	1	4
1	50	20	1	3
1	50	20	0	2
1	50	20	0	0
1	50	20	0	0
1	50	13	0	5
1	50	13	0	0
1	50	10	0	0
1	48	16	1	0
1	47	25	1	1
1	44	18	1	2
1	38	16	2	2
1	38	7	1	0
1	31	10	1	0
1	27	8	1	1
Total 56	3182	978	59	89

T.

undergo

undergo any change before, during, or after the ſhock. The air was clear, and the weather was dead calm. The water in the bay was alſo much agitated: my ſhip, which lay, at that time, at the pierhead, received a very violent ſhock, being impelled forwards, and driven back again, with great force. The northeaſt wall of the newly-erected rice-warehouſe in the caſtle was rent, by this earthquake, in an horizontal direction, juſt below where the rafters were inſerted that ſupport the roof, forty feet in length; and a ſummerhouſe made of bamboos, cloſely covered with ſhrubbery, which ſtood behind my houſe, was thrown down; beſides which, no damage was found to have been done any where.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from AMBOYNA.—*View of the Iſland* AMBLAUW.—*Of the Iſlands of* ST. MATTHEW.—*Of the* TOUCAN-BESSIS.—*Of* CADOEPAN.—*Of* BOUTON.—*Of* CABYNE *and* LIZARD-*Iſland*.—*Of* SALEYER.—CELEBES.—*Paſſage of the* BUDGEROONS.—*The Iſland* TANAKEKE.—*View of the* TONYNS, *or* TUNNY *Iſlands*.—*Of* GREAT SOLOMBO.—*Of* MADURA.—MANDELIQUE.—*Anchorage off* JAPARA.—*Navigation along the Coaſt of* JAVA.—*Anchorage in the Road of* BATAVIA.—*Obſervations reſpecting the Navigation to* AMBOYNA.—*Great Inaccuracy of the Charts*.—*Strong Currents*.—*Calms*.

AFTER my ſhip had been unladen, and had taken in a new cargo, we left the road; we were the whole of that day, and the following night, in working down the bay, keeping always on the windward ſide, which was the ſhore of *Leytimor*, as, on entering, it had been that of *Hitoe*.

On the 9th of June, at ſunriſe, we were breaſt

abreaſt of the Portugueſe bay, and at ten o'clock, A.M. we were out at ſea.

At ſunſet we got ſight of the iſland *Amblauw*, and on the next morning, of the iſland *Bouro*, abreaſt of us, to N.N.E.

On the 11th, in the evening, we ſaw the iſlands of *St. Matthew*, from the maintop, and lay-by during the night, on account of our vicinity to the *Toucan-beſſis*.

In the morning of the next day, we again purſued our courſe, but made but little ſail, as the air was very thick, by the rain, and we had no good view, in order not to fall unexpectedly upon the *Toucan-beſſis*; at ſeven o'clock, however, we ſuddenly ſaw them before us, about a league ahead; we inſtantly tacked and ſtood off, till the weather cleared up a little, and till, at eight o'clock, we could purſue our voyage again. We paſſed thoſe dangerous iſlands, and had likewiſe a view of the iſland *Cadoepan*, where it is ſaid that many cloves are produced; ſteering for the eaſt point of *Bouton*, which we doubled about midnight.

On the 13th, at ſunſet, we ſaw the iſland *Cabyne* and *Hagediſſen*, or *Lizard*-iſland; on the morning of the next day, the iſland

iſland *Saleyer*, and two hours afterwards the coaſt of *Celebes*, with the little iſlands the *Budgeroons* lying between them; at ten o'clock, A.M. we paſſed this narrow ſtrait in ſafety, running between the ſouthernmoſt and middlemoſt of the *Budgeroons*, at the diſtance of one-eighth of a league from the former.

In the afternoon we ſounded, for the firſt time, in thirty-four fathoms, ſtiff clay, being then abreaſt of *Boele-comba*, about three leagues off ſhore.

Sailing by the lead, during the night, along the coaſt of *Celebes*, we were, on the morning of the next day, by the iſland *Tanakeka*; whence we ſteered our courſe ſo as to paſs the *Laars*, or *Boot*, at a proper place. At noon we ſaw the *Tonyns*, or *Tunny* iſlands, and at ſunſet the iſlands of *Salinas*, bearing north, five leagues, ſounding continually with a line of twenty-five fathoms, without ſtriking ground upon the *Laars*.

On the 16th we again ſtruck ſoundings, which we afterwards kept.

On the 17th we got ſight of the iſland *Great Solombo*, which we found to be of a moderate

moderate height, and placed too far ſouth in the charts, by thirteen minutes, or three leagues and a quarter. Hence we ſteered, in order to make the iſland *Madura*, of which we came in ſight the next day at noon.

On the 20th, at ſunriſe, we paſſed *Mandelique*, and anchored at two o'clock, P.M. in the outer road of *Japara*, and ſending our boat on ſhore for refreſhments, we received a plentiful ſupply the next day from the worthy reſident, Mr. VAN DER BEKE; at the ſame time I received information that my ſhip, *Ouwerkerk*, was appointed, by the government of *Batavia*, to go a voyage to *Surat*.

In the afternoon we ſaw the point of *Pamalang*, and the lofty ſummit of Mount *Tagal*.

On the 23d, the hill of *Cheribon* was abreaſt, and the point of *Indramaye* nearly ahead of us; in the afternoon we ſaw the *Boomptjens* iſlands, and in the evening we reckoned that we had paſſed the rock upon which the ſhip called *the Caſtle of Woerden* was loſt.

The following day, in the morning, we

ſaw

ſaw the high trees of *Sedary*, and at ſunſet we came to an anchor off *Murderer*'s Point, and in ſight of the iſland *Edam*.

On the 25th, at eleven o'clock, A.M. we got under ſail, and paſſing between the little iſlands of *Leyden* and *Enkhuizen*, we ſteered for the road of *Batavia*, where we caſt anchor at three o'clock, P.M.

Before I go any farther, I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething reſpecting the navigation to *Amboyna*, as it is deſerving of much attention, and has always been held a very dangerous voyage.

There are three circumſtances which often unite to make it very hazardous, and are the chief cauſes of the difficulty and peril which are complained of:

Firſt, the bad and inaccurate charts of this paſſage, which are made uſe of; and which are certainly extremely defective, notwithſtanding the governor general, MOSSEL, alleges, in his further memorial, that at that time (the year 1753), the charts had been ſo improved, that, for two or three years before, none of the ſhips trading to the eaſt had been loſt. I am therefore not at all ſurprized, that, before that time, ſhips

were

were loſt every year, if they were without any other aid than that of ſuch deceitful guides. If I may judge from the charts which are thus pretended to be improved, and which are at preſent given to the ſhips that perform that voyage, they muſt undoubtedly have plunged many an intrepid ſeaman, who had not before ploughed theſe dangerous ſeas, into uncertainty and deſpair, and have driven him headlong into the midſt of unknown and unavoidable dangers.

The firſt and chiefeſt requiſite of a good ſea-chart is, that in it the iſlands and coaſts be accurately laid down in their proper latitudes; and all the charts from *Java* to *Amboyna*, are glaringly defective in this particular; one iſland is placed too far north, another too far ſouth, and this is occaſioned by the obſervations, whence theſe charts have been made, not being exact. This might be adduced as a diſculpation of the hydrographer, were it not that the navigators of later times have conſtantly noted down, and pointed out theſe defects in the journals of their Amboyna voyages. My obſervations agreed with three of them, which I took with me for reference, when

I went

I went to *Amboyna*. Yet has not all this ſufficed to produce the removal of this hurtful defect.

The ſecond neceſſary requiſite of a chart is, that the true direction of the coaſts, and the exact poſitions of the iſlands, and their bearings with reſpect to the neareſt land, be duly and accurately attended to. The defective ſtate of the charts in queſtion, in this particular too, is not a little complained of, and remains equally unrectified, although many reports have been made by navigators, on the ſubject. And, laſtly, that the reſpective diſtances be laid down as exactly as poſſible, which has, in theſe charts, been totally neglected; of which glaring defects, I have, from time to time, made mention in my journal.

The ſecond cauſe of the danger and difficulty of the eaſtern navigation, are the currents, which ſet with ſo much violence between the iſlands and along the coaſts of this archipelago, that if I had not experienced it myſelf, I ſhould ſcarcely credit the account: in addition to this, they have no regular courſe, and ſometimes run contrary to the wind, and at uncertain times.

Add

Add to theſe, as a third cauſe, the calms which prevail ſo much in theſe climates, and the dangers which ſurround navigators in this paſſage will be very manifeſt; for veſſels are driven, in dead calm weather, by the violent currents, upon unknown ſhoals and rocks, ſo that the moſt experienced ſeamen is unable, in ſuch caſes, to ſave the ſhip and cargo entruſted to him.

It has likewiſe been obſerved, that ſuch of the Company's captains as have performed ſeveral voyages to the eaſtern provinces are, for this reaſon, continued in that navition, which is not diſadvantageous for the intereſt of the Company, but unfortunate for thoſe captains, as theſe voyages afford but little profit, and they do not, in conſequence, feel much attachment for the ſervice of the Company.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IX.

Departure from BATAVIA.—*Paſſage to* SURAT.—*Signs of Land.*—*Curious Species of Molluſca.*—*Zodiacal Light.*—*Waterſnakes.*—*View of the high Land of* BAZAIM.—*Of Cape* ST. JOHN.—*Of the Pike* PISCADORES.—*Directions for ſailing into the Road of* SURAT.—*Anchorage there.*

I HAVE before ſaid, that the ſhip *Ouwerkerk* was appointed to ſail to *Surat*, and as it had been reſolved that two ſhips ſhould be ſent thither this year, the ſhip *Overhoud*, commanded by Captain PETER ANGELOORST, was ordered to proceed to *Surat*, in company with mine.

All poſſible expedition was uſed to get both veſſels in readineſs half a month earlier than ſhips bound on that voyage generally are, becauſe, in the preceding year, the ſhip *the Lady Gertrude*, that had cleared the Straits of *Sunda* on the 28th of Auguſt, did not reach *Surat* before the beginning of December.

The

The crew of each ſhip conſiſted of ſeventy-eight European ſailors, twenty-five Moors, or Laſcars, and twenty-five native, or Bougineſe, ſoldiers, whoſe military abilities almoſt extended ſo far as to fire off a muſquet. I had beſides ten Bantammers on board, who were going on a pilgrimage to *Mecca*, and took their paſſage by my ſhip.

Thus equipped, we left the road of *Batavia* on the 4th of Auguſt, ſteering between the ſhore of *Java* and the iſland *Onruſt*, afterwards paſſing the iſlands *Middelburg*, *De Combuis*, or *Furnace*, and *Menſcheneeters*, or *Cannibal*-iſland, and, at ſunſet, we came to an anchor in ſight of the iſlands which lie in the bay of *Bantam*.

At daybreak, on the 7th, we weighed anchor, and ſteering for the point of *Bantam*, were abreaſt of it at noon.

An hour before ſunſet, Captain ANGELOORST hailed me, and informed me that the looſeneſs of his rigging would not allow him to carry ſail any longer during the ſtiff ſouth-weſterly gale which we then had; and we, therefore, came to an anchor under *Geertruida*-iſland.

Here, on this and the following day, we

met with a regular current, changing twice in twenty-four hours, and ſetting s.w. and N.E. at the rate of four to five leagues in a watch; but the ſtream ſetting to the s.w. was the ſtrongeſt.

On the next day, we could not again get under ſail till towards noon, when the north-eaſt current had ſubſided: at four o'clock, P.M. we had paſſed the iſlands *Dwars-in-den-weg*, or *Thwart-the-way*, and the *Brabandſch boedje*; and as we had determined to run into the bay of *Jeritte*, we endeavoured, by plying to windward, as the wind was at s.w. to reach that anchoring-place; but as the wind blew freſher every moment, I was afraid of coming to an anchor, and, therefore, kept under weigh during the night, with very little ſail.

The following day, we again worked farther on towards *Jeritte*, and caſt anchor about a league from that place.

We remained here at anchor till the 16th of Auguſt, when we took our laſt obſervation of *Princes*-iſland at ſunſet, and loſing ſight of the ſame, as well as of the land of *Java*, on the next day, we ſteered w.s.w. according to the Company's ſailing-orders, till

till the 24th, when being in about the latitude of 10° ſouth, we changed our courſe to due weſt.

On the following day, in the afternoon, having got into longitude 82° eaſt from *Teneriffe*, and our compaſſes ſhewing 7° N.W. variation, we then, agreeable to the abovementioned ſailing-orders, ſteered due north.

On the 8th of September, we thought that we ſaw the iſland *Gracia* from the tops, yet we could not aſcertain the reality of it, as the weather was ſhowery; in order, however, not to run any danger, we bore away from it in the evening; and reſuming our courſe at two o'clock in the morning, we could ſee no appearance of land at daybreak.

The day before, and eſpecially in the evening, we had ſeen many birds, which confirmed us in the opinion that we were not far diſtant from ſome iſland. Our compaſſes then ſhewed full 7° N.W. variation, and we were in $7\frac{1}{2}$° ſouth latitude.

On the 14th, we loſt the eaſterly winds, which we had had from the commencement of the voyage, and met with weſterly gales, being $1\frac{1}{2}$° ſouth of the line, which we paſſed

on the 16th, with a northwesterly variation of about 6°, steering N. by W. in order not to be driven upon the *Maldive* islands, by the currents, which, in this time of the year, set towards the east, in which direction from us those islands lay.

It was a long time before we got as far as 13° north latitude. Continued calms, which had lasted seven days, and previous thereto contrary winds, together with currents setting to the south, were the obstacles which prevented the more speedy prosecution of our voyage.

On the 13th of October, we saw some floating seaweed, and, the day after, we caught a quail; a bird, which, it is said, is always met with on the coast of *Arabia*.

The signs of land still continued on the following day; and besides these, we saw many little round white sea-animals, of various sizes, some being as large as a gilder-piece *, and others very little bigger than a *dubbeltje* †. I had some taken up

* Which is somewhat less in size than a half-crown-piece. *T.*

† Or Dutch two-penny-piece, about as large as our six-pence. *T.*

out

out of the ſea, in order to take an accurate view of them. At firſt, they appeared no more than inanimate marine productions; but having ſtood ſtill for ſome time in bowls of water, they proved to belong to the animal kingdom. That which, floating in the ſea, appeared like a piece of money, was a hard, bony, round ſubſtance, of about one-tenth of an inch in thickneſs, yet more or leſs flexible, divided on the upper ſide into three circles, the outermoſt of which was of a beautiful pearl-colour, the two others were a little darker; fine ſtrokes, like rays, cloſe to each other, of a brighter hue than the circles, ran from the center to the circumference, and were croſſed by others, running in a wavy direction, but exactly following the circular ſhape of the whole ſubſtance; innumerable animalculæ, like polypi, the longeſt of which was not one-fourth of an inch in length, ſpread themſelves out from the outer edge; ſome of them had two branches upon one trunk, that ſpread out like a fork, but moſt were ſingle. The glaſs which I had to view theſe molluſca, was but of ſmall powers, yet I perceived by it that each of the abovementioned polypi

were ſtudded with ſeveral little ſky-blue ſpots, and their bodies were, lengthwiſe, in the form of a priſm, the ſides of which, being convex, appeared of a tranſparent blue. At the under part of this bony ſubſtance (for this creature always ſwam with what has juſt been deſcribed uppermoſt) appeared an infinite collection of vermicular forms, cloſely intertwined together, of a dirty white colour, and which I was not able to ſeparate from each other. In the middle was a little lump, about a line in ſize, of an irregular ſhape, in which ſometimes an expanſion and contraction were viſible, as in the heart of a live animal. When the polypi were fully expanded, the whole appeared very much like a paſſion-flower.

I was not able to keep one of theſe creatures alive for longer than three or four hours; during that time many of the polypi fell off from their common parent ſtock, and ſank down to the bottom of the bowl, without the leaſt appearance of life remaining in them.

The ſeeing of all theſe ſigns of land, made us ſuſpect that we were much more to the weſtward than we reckoned; and ſome obſervations

ſervations of the longitude, taken according to the manner of M. DE LA CAILLE, confirmed this ſuppoſition. On the 15th, likewiſe, in the evening, at ſunſet, we ſaw ſomething to the northweſtward, that bore much the appearance of land; but not finding any bottom with a line of one hundred fathoms, we attributed that appearance to the weather. It, however, afterwards appeared, that our conjectures were well-founded, and that, at that time, we were not far from the coaſt of *Arabia Felix*.

On the 24th of October, I ſaw, for the firſt time, the zodiacal light, in the morning, at half paſt three o'clock, being two hours and a half before the ſun was to riſe. The horizon was beſet with clouds, to the height of 3° to 4°, and the light appeared above them, ſtanding like a cone, upon a broad baſis, of 15° to 20°, ſhooting upwards, and ending in a point, about 35° or 40° above the horizon: the light was dim, but very diſtinguiſhable, as it was then new moon, and the night, conſequently, dark. We were then in the north latitude of 20°.

The calms, and light airs of wind, which we here met with, cauſed us to make little

progreſs in our voyage, and it was not before the 3d of November, that we ſtruck foundings in fifty fathoms. We ſaw many water-ſnakes that day, but did not perceive the leaſt change in the colour of the water, no more than on the following day, although we were then fifteen or twenty leagues nearer to the land.

On the 5th of November, we let drop our anchor in twenty-four fathoms, becauſe both wind and ſtream were againſt us; they, however, changed in our favour that evening, by which we were again enabled to follow our route.

On the day after, at half paſt nine o'clock, A.M. we ſaw the high land of *Bazaim*, and in the afternoon, we made Cape *St. John*, from which we computed that we were ſix or ſeven leagues diſtant, and the pike *Piſcadores*; we alſo thought we ſaw the iſland *Salſet*.

The pike *Piſcadores* is here, beſides the latitude, the beſt mark for making Cape *St. John*; but it lies very far inland, and appears rather too ſmall, on account of the diſtance, ſoon to get ſight of it: it is called the pike, on account of its ſharp ſummit; but

but one may err here, in this reſpect, as there is a mountain, ſomewhat more ſoutherly, ſituated near the high land of *Bazaim*, which equally appears with a lofty ſummit, but this does not lie ſo far inland.

The beach is very flat here, for ſoundings in fifty fathoms are met with, at the diſtance of forty leagues weſt of Cape *St. John*.

From that promontory to the road of *Surat*, the track lies N.N.E. between the continent and the ſea-banks, which lie about ſeven leagues off. You muſt keep in the depth of ſixteen and eighteen fathoms, hard clay bottom, till a little hill, which ſtands at a ſhort diſtance to the north of the city of *Daman*, bears ſouth of eaſt, and you may then ſteer for the land till in ten or nine fathoms, ſailing afterwards along it at the diſtance of one and a half, or two leagues.

The land is very low, and interſperſed with trees. When you ſee the tower of *Sualy*, which is a lofty white monument, at the north point of the river of *Surat*, keep it N. or N. by W. and run ſtrait for the road; the ſhips that lie at anchor there, are diſcerned ſoon enough, to ſteer a proper courſe towards them.

We

We anchored there on the 10th of November, at half past three o'clock, P.M. after the Company's schooner, the *Young Peter*, had been on board of us, in the forenoon, with the comptroller of equipment, to fetch the Company's papers.

CHAP.

CHAPTER X.

Province of GUZURAT.—*Decay of the Mogul Empire.*—*Situation of* SURAT.—*The River* TAPI, *or* CHEDDER.—*Banks of Sand in it.*—*Eſteemed holy by the Gentoos.*—*High Tides.*—*The Road.*—*Monſoons.*—*Obſervations on the Temperature of the Weather.*—*Experimental Proof of the Dryneſs of the Atmoſphere.*—*Intolerable Stench in the City.*—*Fertility and high State of Cultivation of the ſurrounding Country.*

THE province of *Guzurat**, in which is ſituated the city of *Surat*, was formerly an independent kingdom, although of no very

* According to the memorial of Mr. SCHREUDER, the name of *Guzurat* ſignifies properly *Gold-Surat*, of which *Amedabab* is the capital, and *Surat* the chief ſeaport. *S.*

This is a fanciful, or rather a laughable, derivation of an Indian proper name, from an European appellative, ſomething like Dean SWIFT's ſatirical etymology of *Archimedes* from *Hark ye, maids*, and *Alexander the Great* from *All eggs under the grate*. Dr. VINCENT derives the name of the province of *Guzurat* from the Arabic *gezira*, a peninſula; others think that it was ſo named from the maſs of its inhabitants being of the *Guzer* caſte, cowherds. *T.*

great

great extent; but having been conquered, in the year 1565*, by the emperor ACBAR, it now conſtitutes one of the weſtern provinces of the empire of the Great Mogul. The preſent emperor is ALEM GHIER, the ſecond of that name; but he has no power; as this empire, formerly ſo potent, which comprehended, according to the imperial records, one-and-twenty extenſive provinces, two hundred and four populous cities, five ridges of mountains, and five thouſand and forty-ſix *pergunnahs*, or diſtricts, containing towns and villages, and the yearly cuſtomary revenues from which, paid into the imperial treaſury, amounted to 251,323,851¼ rupees, or *f.* 376,985,772½, about three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven millions of Dutch gilders †, has now been ſo torn by internal commotions, that the Great Mogul retains only the mere name of emperor, unſupported by any real authority or power.

AURENZEBE, who died in the year 1707, exalted the Mogul power to the pinacle of glory; but his ſucceſſors, not poſſeſſing his

* According to THEVENOT. *S.* VALENTYN and others ſay 1568. *T.*

† *Memorial of Mr.* SCHREUDER. *S.*

abilities,

abilities, could not maintain it in the ſplendid ſtate in which he left it to them; and his children and grandchildren exhauſting the land by their civil wars for the poſſeſſion of the ſovereign authority, this powerful empire was ſhaken to its foundation by the invaſion of the Perſian ſhah, THAMAS KOULI KHAN, in the year 1739, after which it never recovered its ancient ſplendour. It remained always expoſed to the incurſions of the ſurrounding nations. Moreover, when its ſovereigns became more and more effeminate, and withdrew themſelves from the active adminiſtration of the affairs of the empire, the nabobs, ſoubahs, and other great men, arrogated to themſelves, in a great meaſure, the ſovereignty over thoſe provinces, of which they were the delegated governors, and in which they have maintained themſelves till the preſent day, ſave in thoſe parts where the Engliſh have introduced themſelves by force, and where the appointment and depoſition of the nabobs depend upon the good-will of that nation.

Thus, AHMED ABDALLAH, chief, or prince, of the Patans, marched to *Dehli*, in the year 1757, and took the Great Mogul,

ALEM

ALEM GHIER *, and all his omrahs, priſoners; and after having kept poſſeſſion of the place for ſome time, and collected as much treaſure as he could find, he ſent for the emperor out of priſon, and placed him again upon the throne; but this unhappy monarch did not long ſurvive his reſtoration to the imperial dignity, for he was treacherouſly murdered, in the year 1795, by order of his grand vizier, SHAH ABADIN CHAN †; but the abovementioned prince of the Patans, being diſpleaſed with the conduct of this traitor, attacked and defeated him and his allies, and placed his ſon TIMUR, whom he had made king of *Lahore* in his former expedition, upon the imperial ſeat of *Dehli*.

Surat lies, according to the French obſervations, in 21° 10′ north latitude, which differs about 6′ from our ſeveral times repeated obſervations made while in the road.

It ſtands on the left or ſouth bank of the

* ALLUMGIRE SANI. *T.*

† Otherwiſe GHAZI-UL-DIEN, a man who crouded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other conſummate villains have done into a long life of wickedneſs and treachery. For a particular and well-written account of all theſe tranſactions, the reader is referred to *Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan.*

river

river *Tapi*, or *Tappi*, which the Moors call *Chedder*, and which THEVENOT ſays, has its ſource ten miles from the little town of *Brempore*, in the kingdom and mountains of *Decan*, and runs into the ſea, about two leagues and a half below *Surat*. At the mouth of the river, which is about half a league over, there is a bank, or bar, upon which, at low tide, there is no more than three feet water; as, however, in ſpringtides, the water riſes full fifteen feet, pretty large ſhips can enter the river. Beſides this, there are ſeveral other banks higher up in the river, of which that which lies near the village of *Omrah*, half a league below *Surat*, is the ſhoaleſt; as at low water, it is not even paſſable by ſmall craft: a little above the city, and farther up, the river becomes ſhallower and ſhallower, ſo that at low water it is fordable near the village of *Briauw*, about a Dutch mile higher up.

The Banians and Gentoos eſteem this a very holy river. It follows in ſanctity of eſtimation upon the *Ganges*, which they think the oldeſt in the world; and the ſame ceremonies which are obſerved with reſpect

to the former *, likewiſe, in a great meaſure, take place in regard to the *Tapi*.

The river has many ſinuoſities, but its courſe lies as far as *Old Surat*, in an E.N.E. direction; from that place it runs more to the ſoutheaſtward.

The flux and reflux of the tide occur even above the town; there is no conſiderable afflux of water, except in the rainy ſeaſon, when the river riſes ſometimes to a great height, and occaſions much damage. In the year 1727, it roſe ſo high, that the people ſailed with *horrys* † over the city walls as far as the *Durbar* ‡.

In the month of July, of the year 1776, in the time of the bad monſoon, the water of the river roſe ten feet, in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, and encreaſed ſo rapidly, that it was almoſt upon a level with the wall of the city in a very ſhort time. The

* The ceremonies obſerved in the feſtival inſtituted in honour of the river *Ganges*, are circumſtantially deſcribed by Mr. STAVORINUS in his *Voyage to Batavia, Bantam, and Bengal*, book iii. chapter ii. DUTCH EDITOR.

† *Horrys* are ſmall veſſels, uſed as lighters, in the river of *Surat*, of from twenty to forty tons burthen. *T.*

‡ *Memorial of Mr.* SCHREUDER. *S.*

afflux

afflux was ſo violent, that all the veſſels were carried away by it: the Company's ſchooner, the *Young Peter*, was driven from before the town high upon the ſhore, at *Attua*, and the *Gonjouwer*, or the *Holy Ship*, as it is called, was carried down the river, and daſhed to pieces; a piece of the wreck, being part of the head, was to be ſeen oppoſite to the black guard, when I ſailed up the river in February, 1777.

The road is about a league ſouth of the mouth of the river. From October to April it is never without ſhips, that arrive here from all parts of India, and meet with a ſafe place to ride in, as that is the time when the northerly winds, moſtly confined between the points of N.E. and N.W. prevail. After April, the road becomes dangerous, not being protected from the weſterly and ſoutherly winds, which rage uninterruptedly along this coaſt, from the month of May till Auguſt, and raiſe a very high ſea; the ſea-banks, which lie about four leagues out to ſea, do not afford the leaſt lee; ſeveral ſhips were loſt in the month of May of this year, and only one or two of thoſe that were

driven from their anchors, and run high upon the ſhore, were got off again.

The anchorage here is in ſeven, eight, or nine fathoms water, according to the diſtance from the ſhore which is preferred; the Company's ſhips uſually anchor in eight fathoms, with the tower of *Sualy* N. to N. by W. and the point of *Naſſary* S.E. or S.E. ½ S.

From repeated obſervations, we found that the anchoring-place was in 21° 57′ north latitude, the variation of the compaſs 1° 30′ N.W. and high water, at new and full moon, at twenty-four minutes paſt four o'clock; the water riſing in ſpring tides fourteen or fifteen feet.

The ſeaſons or monſoons are, as every where between the tropics in India, of two kinds, the good and the bad; yet, ſome divide the year, as we do, in four portions, of which the months of March, April, and May, make the ſpring, or temperate ſeaſon; June, July, and Auguſt, the hot ſeaſon, or bad monſoon; during which, very ſultry winds and continual rains prevail: September, October, and November, the autumn; and December, January, and February, the cool

cool ſeaſon, which is the beſt time of the year. I take theſe circumſtances from what others related to me, for I was only in perſon here on my firſt voyage in the months of November and December; I ſhall therefore only communicate the obſervations which I made myſelf during that time, reſpecting the temperature of the climate.

From the 18th of November, to the end of that month, I found that the medium height of the thermometer was 83°, the higheſt during that period; namely, at three o'clock in the afternoon, 100°, and the loweſt in the morning, half an hour before ſunriſe, 63°, both with a clear ſky.

From the 1ſt, to the 25th of December, the medium height of the thermometer was 74°, the higheſt 92°; namely, on the 1ſt, and on the 22d in the afternoon, with a clear ſky: and the loweſt 52°, being on the 21ſt in the morning, half an hour before ſunriſe, alſo with a clear ſky.

Although I could not keep daily annotation of the degrees of heat, ſhewn by the thermometer, during the time that I remained at *Surat*, on my ſecond voyage, from the 25th of February to the 7th of April, the heat was not exceſſive till the middle of

March, ſeldom being higher than 96°; but towards the end of March, and in the beginning of April, the thermometer was ſeldom under 104° in the afternoon, between half paſt one and half paſt three o'clock, and it roſe twice as high as 108°; the northerly winds brought on ſuch a ſuffocating heat, that the thermometer, though hanging in the ſhade, and away from all reflection, roſe 7° and 8° by them.

The dryneſs of the air is likewiſe very remarkable here, even in the cool ſeaſon. In December, I put in a ſcale, hung upon an exact balance, the quantity of 600 grains of ſal tartari vitr. twenty-four hours afterwards, it had only encreaſed nine grains in weight, on the following day ſix, and on the third day three, grains; without any further change being afterwards obſervable.

When I made the ſame experiment, on my ſecond viſit, the ſal tartari did not receive the leaſt addition in weight; and the drought was ſo great, that wooden furniture, and even tortoiſe ſhell ſnuff-boxes, bound with gold rims, and more articles of the ſame nature, fell in pieces.

The air is likewiſe here ſtrongly impregnated with volatile particles. In a morning, before

before ſun-riſe, it is both difficult and noiſome to paſs through ſeveral parts of the town, on account of the horrid ſtench ariſing from carrion, human ordure, and other impurities; eſpecially near the inner *Mocha*-gate: but three or four hours after the ſun has riſen, the intolerable odour is nearly diſſipated and exated by the rays of the ſun. The country round *Surat* is very fertile, and the inhabitants are more induſtrious than in other places, ſo that ſcarcely a piece of uncultivated ground is to be ſeen, or any ſpot that does not yield ſome uſeful production. The ſoil is a reddiſh clay, and is ſeldom manured; only they ſometimes burn the dry ſtubble, or refuſe, of the fields, the aſhes of which ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply the want of other manure. The cow and horſe dung is either uſed for fuel, or for other purpoſes.

CHAPTER XI.

Productions of the Fields.—An useful Shrub, producing Oil, and a Kind of Flax.—Tobacco.—Wheat.—Nilly, or Juary, a Sort of Indian Corn.—Method of sowing, and of reaping, of using, and of selling it.—Fruits.— Palm Wine.—Capok, or Cotton Wool.—Manufactures of Cotton.—Few Trees.—Timber brought from DAMAN.—*Vegetables.—Provisions.—Wild Animals.—Avenues to the City.—The Road to* ATTUA.—*To* BRIAUW.—*To* CATTERGAM.—*To* NASSARY.—*The* LAANTJES.—*Walls and Extent of the City.—Gates.—Minarets.—Houses.—Suburbs.—Streets.*

THE chief productions of the fields here, are wheat, *nilly*, and rice, as also a certain shrub, yielding a fruit, from which an oil used for lamps is expressed; the stalk, after having been laid to rot in water, separates, like the flax with us, into threads, of which sail-yarn is spun; I conceive, likewise, that it would be fit for the manufacture of cordage, were the experiment made. Among the produce of the land, tobacco may equally be reckoned, which is planted along the low grounds, by the riverside.

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The wheat, which is reaped in a ſufficient quantity to admit of exportation, and which is ſometimes ſent from this place to *Batavia*, is large-grained, yet ſomewhat longer-ſhaped than the Zealand wheat, and yields good, though not very white, flour. A laſt of wheat uſually coſts one hundred rupees, or one hundred and fifty gilders.

The grain, which is called *nilly* by the Europeans, and *juary* by the Moors, ſerves here almoſt univerſally for the food of the natives, in the ſame manner as rice does in nearly every other place in India. It grows in bunches like maize, to which it bears a great reſemblance; yet the corn is ſomething ſmaller, and has a little point at top; they are likewiſe not ſo thick ſet; ſome of theſe bunches weigh half a pound and more. The ſtalk grows to the height of five or ſix feet, and has at the upper part ſeveral broad leaves, which hang downwards; when ripe, it aſſumes a yellowiſh appearance.

The ſeed is ſown in the month of July, after the firſt rainy ſeaſon, and the harveſt is made in December or January: in the latter end of November, or in the beginning of December, the ſtalks are bound together by

the tops five and five, in order to promote the ripening of the grain for the harveſt.

After the land has been ploughed and harrowed, the ſeed is ſown, nearly in a ſtrait line, in the following manner: by the ſide of one or more oxen, a long hollow reed or bamboo is faſtened, which is wide above, and narrower at bottom, by which laſt end it trails along the ground; the ſower caſts his ſeed into the upper orifice of the reed, and it runs out at the lower as the ox goes along, in a ſtrait line.

The ſtraw of this grain ſerves for food for the oxen and cows, and the ſtubble is uſed as fuel. The grain itſelf is ground, between two ſtones, into meal, which being mixed up to a dough, with water alone, is baked into flat unleavened cakes, which taſte much like cakes of buckwheat-meal.

The grain is ſold by weight; the maund, of 34½ pounds, was ſold, when I was there, for three-fourths of a rupee, or about twenty-three ſtivers of our money.

The abundance or ſcarcity of food for the natives, depends upon the good or ill ſucceſs of the harveſt of this grain, as they ſubſiſt, for the moſt part, entirely upon it. A failure

of

of the crop is always apprehended, when the rains do not fall at a proper period, or not in ſufficient quantities.

I have been aſſured that very good mangos grow here, which are not ripe till February or March; as alſo grapes, ſome of which I ſaw in vineyards, but did not taſte them, as they too are not ripe before the latter end of January, or the beginning of February. On my ſecond voyage, grapes were ſo ſcarce, that I did not ſee them at all.

The cocoa-nut-tree does not occur here: though a ſort of it is found, from which *tary*, or toddy, is drawn; it, however, more reſembles the palm-tree; the ſtem is ſtrait, and ſome of them pretty thick and ſmooth, with a ſmall crown. The taſte of the toddy is very different from that of the ſame kind of liquor which I drank in the eaſtern provinces of *Macaſſer* and *Amboyna*, known there by the appellation of *ſagwire*; the flavour of the former being much more pleaſant. The trees that yield the two liquors are likewiſe very different in appearance; though they ſeem to me to belong to the ſame genus.

The chief article of trade which this country affords, is cotton-cloth, the material for which, the *capok*, or cotton-wool, is produced

in

in abundance round *Broot Chia*, or *Baroche*, and higher up the country; but the chief part of the piece-goods which are manufactured here, are coarſe and coloured cottons: yet very fine checqued and ſtriped *doreas* are made not far from *Baroche*.

No foreſts are met with in the neighbourhood of *Surat*; nothing but low and ſmall underwood; though at intervals, and eſpecially along the roads, ſome ſhady trees occur, and, in general, of that ſpecies that ſhoot down little filaments from their branches, to the ground, which take root, and, in time, grow up into trees, and propagate themſelves in the ſame manner as the parent ſtock. Numbers of theſe trees are eſteemed very holy by the Gentoos, for which reaſon, many of their pagodas, or temples, are built under the ſhade of ſuch a tree.

Moſt of the wood for fuel, and all that is wanted for houſe or ſhip-building, is brought hither from *Daman*, by water-carriage.

Vegetables are ſaid to be in ſufficient plenty for the Europeans, during the cool ſeaſon. Thoſe which I eat here, were an inferior ſort of green peas and aſparagus, both of which, though they looked very well, were watery and taſteleſs, and by no means ſo

nice

nice as thoſe grown at *Batavia*; good ſpinage, ſalad, purſlane, beet-root, cabbage, and carrots.

The beef is very good and fat, as is mutton and veniſon; but poultry is ſcarce, and is chiefly brought from other places. The butter and milk are likewiſe very good, and not very dear.

Of wild animals, the tiger is, I believe, beſides ſnakes, the only one whoſe ravages are to be feared.

The houſes ſwarm with bugs, eſpecially in the hot ſeaſon; but I cannot ſay that I had any reaſon to complain of ſuffering from them myſelf.

There are ſeveral beautiful avenues which lead to the city from the country. On going out of the *Attua*, or, as the natives call it, the *Mocho*-gate, there is a broad road, which leads ſouthward, at no great diſtance from the river; it is planted with ſhady trees on both ſides, as far as *Attua*. This road leads farther on to the village of *Omrah*, cloſe to the river, and afterwards to the village of *Domis*, which is at the mouth of the river, on the ſouth ſide.

The *Briauw* road runs on the other ſide of the city, ſo called from the village of *Briauw*,

Briauw, which lies full one Dutch mile off, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Turning from this road to the right, the way leads to *Poele Parre*, a village on this ſide of the river. A celebrated *fakir* has, for many years, reſided near this place, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter. A little farther, a handſome garden has been laid out, which belongs to the broker of the Engliſh; but the buildings appertaining to it, were burnt down laſt year by the Marattas. THEVENOT calls the abovementioned gate the gate of *Baroche*, becauſe it is through the ſame that travellers to the latter place ſet off. This is a very pleaſant and handſome avenue, and planted, almoſt the whole way, on both ſides, with leafy trees, which afford an agreeable ſhade.

A handſome road likewiſe runs from the *Cattergam*-gate to the village of that name, and alſo to *Poele Parre*. Not far from there, upon an eminence, are the burial places of the Gentoo ſaints, of which I ſhall ſay more in the ſequel.

Going out of the *Saras*-gate, called by THEVENOT that of *Daman*, there is likewiſe a pleaſant road, reaching to *Naſſary*, and to a village called *Oedanain*, where there is a pagoda,

pagoda, which is held in great veneration by the Hindoos.

The road which I thought the moſt pleaſant, was that which we call the *Laantjes*, or the *green walk*. The little gate at the upper part of the town leads to it: we give it that appellation becauſe it is narrow and cloſely overſhadowed: it has much analogy with country roads, in my native and pleaſant iſland of *Walcheren*.

The city of *Surat*, as I have before ſaid, ſtands on the left bank of the *Tapi*. It is encircled by a double wall; the innermoſt, being about two hours' walk in circumference, and the outermoſt, which incloſes both the inner town and the ſuburbs, requires almoſt three hours to walk round it. At the time of THEVENOT, the inner wall was reconſtructed of brick, having before been merely a mud-wall. The inner wall is much decayed, but the outer one is in tolerable good condition. The height of it within, I calculate at about twelve feet, and without, as the ground there is much lower, twenty and more feet; it is ſeven or eight feet in thickneſs; at the height of eight feet, it loſes about half its thickneſs, as a parapet is made there for thoſe who defend the wall with ſmall arms,

the

the upper part ſerving thus as a breaſt-work, loopholes being made in it, for the fuſees to be fired through.

This is alſo almoſt the ſole defence which they poſſeſs; for as to the round and ſemi-circular baſtions, or places of arms, which jut out from the walls, on either ſide of the gate, and which are planted with a few cannon, together with the bulwarks, or ſconces, that they call guards, which project a little from the wall, and are placed at intervals all round the town, at the diſtance of five or ſix hundred feet from each other, they are too weak, and too incapable of defence, to contribute much to the ſecurity of the town, excepting that by the *Naſſary*-gate, which has lately been rebuilt in a ſtronger manner, by order of the Engliſh.

The inner town has twelve gates, two towards the river, and ten towards the country. There are as many gates in the outer, oppoſite to thoſe in the inner wall, each of which bears the ſame name with the correſponding inner one.

One of the gates of the city, leading to the river, ſtands juſt below the caſtle, and is called the *Chiap*-gate, becauſe all the goods, imported and exported, muſt be carried

through

through this gate to be houſed in the town, or ſhipped in the river, in order that the cuſtoms may not be defrauded.

Cloſe to the inner walls, are ſeveral high and narrow ſpires, round which there are balconies, which the Turks call *minarets*, and are uſed to call the Mahomedans to prayer.

Few houſes are ſeen in the inner town that have any external good appearance. There are even many places, where nothing but little huts, made of bamboo, and plaiſtered with mud, are met with. In the ſuburbs, few other than the laſt-mentioned are found; ſave in one diviſion, or ward, through which one muſt paſs, on going out of the *Dehli*-gate; in this there are none but ſtone-buildings, which have a tolerably handſome appearance.

The ground encloſed between the two city-walls, is not, however, near being covered with houſes; there are extenſive gardens in it, and even tracts of arable land, and many lime and brick-kilns, eſpecially from the *Saras* to the *Attua*-gate.

The ſtreets are, in general, unpaved, narrow, and irregular, with projecting corners and ſhops. In this inſtance, THEVENOT is miſtaken, who ſays, that they are long and broad,

broad, or things muſt have greatly changed ſince his time*. In the rainy ſeaſon, they are very dirty, and the native inhabitants pay little attention to keeping them clean, making a common dunghill of them, and throwing every kind of filth into the middle of the road.

* Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE's tranſlation of THEVENOT's travels has it, that the ſtreets are "large and even." OVINGTON, who was at *Surat* in 1689, ſays, "the ſtreets are ſome too narrow, but in many places of a convenient breadth." *T.*

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Deſcription of the Garden of the Nabob.—Of a Pleaſure-garden laid out by the Siſter of AURENZEBE.—*Other Gardens belonging to Europeans.—A new Garden of the Nabob.—Burial-places of the Dutch and Portugueſe.—Monument of Mr.* VAN RHEEDE.—*Singular Tomb of a Ship's Butler.—The large Tank and Banian-tree which* THEVENOT *and* VALENTYN *ſpeak of, not now to be found.—Wells of Water.—The Caſtle.—The Durbar, or Court of the Nabob.—The Mint.—Method of Coining.—Factories of the Europeans.—That of the Dutch.—Caravanſeras.—Moſques, or Maſſieds.—Bazars, or Markets.—The Meidan, or Caſtlegreen.*

AMONG the gardens which lie in the outer town, or ſuburbs, that of the nabob, who is called MAMOUDI BEG, deſerves the firſt place, as well on account of its large buildings, as the general magnificence with which it is laid out. But I do not know how to give an exact deſcription of it, notwithſtanding I was fully employed for more

than three hours in viewing it, as it conſiſts, for the moſt part, of buildings, in which there is an infinite number both of large ſaloons, and ſmall apartments, which I have been aſſured amounts to more than ſeven hundred.

The whole is incloſed within a high ſtone wall, which requires a quarter of an hour to walk round. The entrance is through a large ſtone gate, into an area of conſiderable extent; then up ſome ſteps into the great ſaloon, looking towards a large tank, or reſervoir, in which there is ſix feet water, and which is, as I gueſſed, more than one hundred and fifty feet long, and about half as broad. The ſaloon, I take it, is full one hundred feet in length, and thirty in breadth: little niches are every where made in the walls, as well as an architectural ornament, as to hold little burning lamps of an evening; on three ſides it is ſurrounded with little apartments.

Over this there is another range of apartments, nearly ſimilar; and again a third on another ſtory; but the laſt contains fewer of the little retiring rooms. From the roof, which is flat, in the Mooriſh faſhion, there

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is a moſt delightful proſpect over the city, and its environs.

The baths are on the ſecond ſtory; they are built in cloſed apartments, and are kept ſo warm, that though it was then cool weather, I could not ſtay five minutes in them.

In every apartment, both in the ſaloons, and in the ſmall rooms, are fountains and ciſterns of water, for waſhing.

At the upper end of the abovementioned tank there is another building, and on the right hand, a third, all conſtructed in the ſame manner as that firſt deſcribed. Here the *mahal*, or ſeraglio of the nabob, is held, when he reſides here. Before the ſalooon belonging to it, there is likewiſe a large tank, or reſervoir, of ſixty or ſeventy feet in length, and twelve or fourteen in breadth; at the upper end of which, the eyes are delighted by a beautiful artificial caſcade, of twenty feet in height: on each ſide of the reſervoir, into which the caſcade falls, are a number of fountains, the ſtreams of which play in an oblique direction, oppoſite to and towards each other, making a watery arch, which has a moſt pleaſing effect. The

water which is employed in these works, and for the baths and cisterns within the buildings, is brought part of the way from the deep wells, whence it is drawn by oxen, in leathern bags, and then is introduced into the gardens by a kind of chain pumps, to which earthen pots are fastened.

There was no furniture in any of the apartments; such is only placed there when the nabob takes his pleasure, in person, in the gardens.

Although these buildings are said to be not forty years old, and to have cost nine lacks of rupees, or full thirteen tons of gold, every thing seems to be in a very ruinous condition, which is indeed the case with all the Mooriſh buildings.

Thus the pleasure-garden laid out by BEGUM SAHEB, the sister of AURENZEBE, is at present in a most desolate state of delapidation. This is situated in the outer town, near the *Nassary*-gate. THEVENOT, who was here in the year 1666, and calls it the *garden of the princesses*, describes it with much accuracy and fidelity. It remains still in an entire state; and I went over the whole of it, with his description

in

in my hand. Moſt of the trees have, however, been cut down; and few remain, but thoſe conſtituting the four chief walks, and one or two of the others, being all tamarind-trees.

Flowers are not found here; all the ground is ſown with different ſorts of pulſe and greens. It is ſurrounded by a high wall, and, I compute, covers about fifteen or ſixteen acres. The abovementioned traveller ſays that it lies out of the city; but the ſuburbs were not then encircled by walls.*

Beſides

* Thevenot's deſcription of this garden is as follows: "We went a quarter of a league farther to ſee the princeſs's "garden, ſo called, becauſe it belongs to the great Mogul's "ſiſter. It is a great plot of trees of ſeveral kinds; as "mangos, palms, mirabolans, and many others, planted "in a ſtraight line. Among the ſhrubs I ſaw the *querze-* "*here*, or *aacla*, and alſo the acacia of *Egypt*. There are "in it a great many ſtraight walks, and eſpecially the "four which make a croſs over the garden, and have in "the middle a ſmall canal of water, that is drawn by oxen "out of a well. In the middle of the garden there is a "building with four fronts, each whereof hath its divan, "with a cloſet at each corner; and before every one of "theſe divans there is a ſquare baſon full of water, whence "flow the little brooks which run through the chief walks. "After all, though the garden be well contrived, it is no-"thing to the gallantry of ours. There is nothing to be

Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other gardens, belonging as well to natives as to Europeans. The ſecond of the Dutch factory, SLUISKENS, occupies a pleaſant garden, laid out by one PRICE, formerly chief of the Engliſh here. The purveyor, MONTE', and the junior merchant, ZIMMERMAN, together with ſeveral Engliſh, equally occupy gardens, which are all ſituated within the ſuburb-walls.

After the year 1775, which was the time I was at *Surat*, the nabob laid out a new garden, which is known by the appellation of the *julmi-bach*, or the garden of injuſtice, becauſe, by an abuſe of his authority, he had a number of houſes, belonging to poor people, pulled down, in order to procure room for making his garden, without giving any ſatisfactory indemnification to the indigent inhabitants.

It covers about ſeven or eight acres of ground; it is very well planned and laid out, with a ſaloon, before which there is a

" ſeen of our harbours, borders of flowers, nor of the ex-
" actneſs of their copartments, and far leſs of their water-
" works." Thevenot's Travels, part III. chap. xiv. T.

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beautiful parterre of the moſt fragrant flowers, and an aviary, in which it is a ſingular ſight to ſee, a great number of geeſe, ducks, and turkies, among a collection of curious birds.

The burial-places of the Dutch, and of the Portugueſe, are likewiſe ſituated in the ſuburbs. The former merit the attention of the traveller, as there is ſcarcely any grave that has not a tomb with lofty ſpires upon it; the meaneſt have a graveſtone with a ſculptured epitaph. That of Mr. VAN RHEEDE, commiſſary-general of the Eaſt-India Company over the weſtern factories, excels all the others in largeneſs of dimenſion, elegance of architecture, magnificence of ornament, and richneſs of material, and is kept in repair at the expence of the Company; for which purpoſe, not long ago, about ſix thouſand rupees, or nine thouſand Dutch gilders, were charged in account to the Company *.

The tomb of a ſhip's butler, who when

* When THEVENOT was at *Surat*, this monument was then building; OVINGTON mentions it, and calls it a noble pile. T.

alive was a true votary of Bacchus, and proved faithful to the worſhip of the jovial god even in death, by expreſsly deſiring that three large punchbowls of ſtone ſhould be placed upon the corners, and one at the top of the ſpire, of his tomb, is much decayed, and only one of the punchbowls now remains entire *.

Theſe burial-places are ſurrounded by a high wall, and cover, as I compute, about one hundred roods of ground.

The burying-place of the Engliſh is without the ſuburb-walls, on the right ſide of the road to *Briauw*.

Whatever pains I took to find the large tank, and banian-tree, of which THEVENOT and VALENTYN make mention, I could not diſcover them; they have, perhaps, both been deſtroyed ſince that time. I was, however, aſſured, that at *Seculture*, a place not far from *Baroche*, ſuch a tree exiſted, as that

* THEVENOT and OVINGTON both likewiſe notice this ſingular monument, and add, that the ſurviving friends of the deceaſed uſed to make merry at the tomb, preparing their beverage in the ſtone bowls, and "remembering him "there ſometimes ſo much, that they quite forgot themſelves." T.

of

of which thoſe writers take ſuch particular notice.

Although the city of *Surat* is built upon the banks of a river, the inhabitants would be in want of water, as that of the river before the town is almoſt always brackiſh, if proviſion were not made againſt this inconveniency, by a number of wells, lined with brick, which are very deep, and whence the water is brought by oxen in leathern bags.

The principal edifice belonging the city is the caſtle, which was erected by the Moguls, on the conqueſt of *Guzurat*. Its ſhape is an irregular ſquare; the ſhorteſt ſide of it, and one of the oblique ſides facing the weſt and northweſt, are waſhed by the river. At each angle it has a large round tower, which ſerves for a baſtion; the walls, or curtains, that connect theſe together, are about half as thick, and nearly as high, as the towers, which I reckoned to be full forty feet from the ground to the battlements. On the narroweſt ſide there is a circular place of arms made between, and of the ſame height as the towers. A ravelin was added to the oblique flank, next

to

to the river, by the Engliſh, after they got poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which covers that ſide.

As far as can be ſeen from without (for into the caſtle, none who do not belong to the Engliſh are admitted), it appears to be pretty ſtrong, built of hewn ſtone, and to be well provided with artillery. On the landſide it is ſurrounded by a ditch. It has but one gate, which is on the ſouth ſide, oppoſite to the *Meidan*. Yet it could not be long defended againſt a bombardment, on account of the great number of buildings, which occupy the ſpace within its walls, none of which, as I was aſſured by thoſe who had been within it, by connivance of the Engliſh, are bomb-proof, and the garriſon would, therefore, be without ſhelter againſt the deſtructive effects of ſuch an attack.

The Mooriſh colours are hoiſted on the ſoutheaſternmoſt tower, and thoſe of the Engliſh upon the ſouthweſternmoſt.

The court, or palace, where the nabob reſides, is called the *Durbar*; it lies to the ſouthweſt, about two hundred paces from the caſtle. Within it, it is ſaid, there is little

little worthy notice. The gate which forms the entrance to it, is kept by a guard of *Habſis*, or Arabians, and is mounted with two old pieces of cannon, but it more reſembles a ruinous hovel, than the entrance to the reſidence of a prince.

The mint, where the ſilver which is imported is coined into rupees, by having the impreſſion of the emperor's name, and the year of his reign, ſtamped upon them, is a large pile, ſurrounded by a high wall. Along the wall are ſheds, under which the workmen ſit: on the right hand is an elevated apartment for the overſeers and inſpectors, when any work is doing. Oppoſite to it, a ſquare place is walled off, where the ſilver and copper are melted, and caſt in moulds, into bars, or ingots. The metal is weighed to the workmen, who cut it into pieces of the exact weight which the coin to be ſtruck requires, every one having a pair of ſcales at hand for that purpoſe, in which every piece is ſeparately weighed: theſe workmen beat it round and flat, though one piece ſometimes falls thicker than another, to which exact attention is not paid. It then goes to the coiners, who were then about

about thirty in number, each of whom has an aſſiſtant, who puts the prepared pieces of copper, or ſilver, upon the lower die, while the other places the upper one, which he holds in his left hand, upon them, and ſtamps the impreſſion upon them with a forcible blow of a hammer.

The lodges, or factories, of foreign nations, namely, of the Portugueſe, French, Engliſh, and Dutch, likewiſe ſtand in the inner town, though each have what they call a wharf in the ſuburb, called *jenghi bander*. The factory of our Company is an old building, ſituated nearly in the center of the town; there is nothing worthy of obſervation about it, and it is in an extremely ruinous condition: it is at preſent only made uſe of for *bazarring* the piece-goods, that is, for examining them when they come from the manufacturers, and comparing them with the patterns. The Company ſtill pay a yearly rent for the uſe of this building, to one of the natives, to whom it came by inheritance; beſides which, it muſt be kept in repair at the expence of the Company.

Formerly, when *Surat* was in a more flouriſhing

flouriſhing condition, there were ſeveral caravanſeras here, which were all very well maintained, as well from the donations of pious Muſſulmen, as from certain revenues ariſing from what was paid by the travellers who reſorted to them. There are at preſent two, which I ſaw; one by the ſide of the *Naſſary*-gate, which for that reaſon is called by us the *double*-gate, becauſe the ſquare area of the caravanſera has on the two oppoſite ſides a large gateway, leading to the road of *Naſſary*; and one not far from the mint: they are both ſquare buildings, with colonades on the ſides, and provided with little ſquare rooms, in which the travellers paſs the night, while their baggage and cattle remain in the area of the caravanſera.

The moſques, which are here called *maſſieds*, the interior of which may be ſeen by any one who will pull off his ſhoes, poſſeſs nothing worthy of particular regard. On entering the gate, you come into an open court, which occupies about one-half of the depth of the building; the other half is covered: no ornaments, or furniture, are ſeen, except the pulpit, and a ſmall cloſet, fixed in the wall, in which the Koran is kept.

kept. A few chapters of this book are ſometimes read on Fridays; but the chief ſervice of their devotion conſiſts in muttering their prayers, at certain times, in this place.

There are many *bazars*, or market-places, here; for example, the bazar for cottons, for exchange, for greens, for wood, and ſeveral others, which overflow with people, towards the evening, eſpecially the firſt-named, which is likewiſe the place where the Banian and other Aſiatic merchants meet, as thoſe of Europe do upon their exchanges. A great number of retail-ſhops are equally found here.

The *Meidan* * is a large open plain, ſouth of the caſtle, where both our Company and the Engliſh have large tents, or awnings, ſurrounded by palings of bamboos. The bales of piecegoods are kept in them till they are *chiapped* and ſhipped off.

Not far from here, a *latty*, or warehouſe, has been run up of wood, and cloſed with matts of palm-leaves, in which private goods were formerly houſed.

* The Engliſh call it the Caſtlegreen, on account of its vicinity to the caſtle.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XIII.

Inhabitants of SURAT.—*Banians.— Brahmins.— Faquirs.— Moors.— Their particular Religion.— Their Character. — Gentoos. — Pagodas. — Belief in Tranſmigration.—Their Solicitude not to kill any living Creature.—Their ſuperſtitious Opinions in this Reſpect.—Tombs of their Saints.*

THE city of *Surat* contains, it is ſaid, full five hundred thouſand inhabitants, which does not appear entirely improbable to me, as its populouſneſs is very conſiderable. Mr. SCHREUDER divides them into four claſſes, namely, Moors, Banians, Gentoos, and Perſians; but, in my opinion, they ought only to be divided into three ſorts, for the Banians and Gentoos are the ſame people, derived from the ſame origin, and profeſſing the ſame religion; the Banians are in much greater numbers than the Gentoos, but they differ from each other in no other reſpect than as being of different caſtes, while the caſte of the Banians, according to Mr. SCHREUDER,

SCHREUDER, is again ſubdivided into ninety-two ſorts.

By the beſt information which I could obtain, from ſeveral tolerably learned Banians, the general diviſion of the people is into four claſſes, brahmins, warriors, agriculturers, and mechanics, who are all again ſubdivided into a great number of caſtes; all which are held in honour, in proportion as they refrain from the uſe of forbidden things, fleſh meat, or any thing that has received life, from the drinking of ſtrong, or inebriating liquors, from the commiſſion of adultery, from lying, &c. On this account, the claſs of agriculturers, who are the leaſt infected with theſe vices, are the moſt eſteemed, and much above the mechanics, who do not ſo much obſerve the dictates of morality.

Although the brahmins form a head-caſte, ſome are, however, found among them, who are equally incorporated into other caſtes, for inſtance, in that of the Banians, the preſent broker of the company, GOVEN RAM, being one of them; he always wore a ſtring of yellow amber beads in his hand, in the ſame manner as the illiterate Roman catholics have their paternoſters, for counting of their prayers.

Faquirs,

Faquirs are met with in all the caſtes, and likewiſe among the Moors, the Marattas, and the Malabars; and they have the ſame religion as the Gentoos.

The Europeans are too few in number here, to be conſidered as a fourth claſs of inhabitants.

The Moors, or Monguls, among which may be reckoned the Arabians, the Turks, and the modern Perſians, who have ſettled here for the ſake of trade, becauſe they profeſs the ſame religion, are the proprietors of the ſoil, by right of conqueſt, by which they brought nearly the half of the peninſula within the *Ganges* under ſubjection to them, and would probably have extended their dominion ſtill farther, had the ſucceſſors of AURENGZEBE inherited his abilities and bravery, together with his empire.

They are called Moors in common with ſeveral nations who adhere to the doctrines of Mahomet. The inhabitants of the kingdom of *Granada*, in Spain, were, for that reaſon, diſtinguiſhed by the ſame name, by the chriſtians of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*; in the ſame manner as the inhabitants of the Peninſula of *Hitoe* at *Amboyna*, are diſtinguiſhed

from the Leytimoreſe chriſtians, though no difference of colour has given occaſion thereto.

Theſe people, as well as the modern Perſians, are of the ſect of the *Chiais*, who do not conſider ABUKEKER, OMAR, and OSMYN, as the lawful ſucceſſors of MAHOMET, but as uſurpers, eſteeming ALI, the ſon-in-law of MAHOMET, as the perſon who ought to have immediately ſucceeded to the place of the prophet; whereas the Turks, who are called *Sunnites*, believe the contrary. This difference of belief is the cauſe of an irreconcileable hatred between theſe people, which is encouraged and cheriſhed by the princes on both ſides.

Although theſe Monguls, or Moors, are profeſſors of the Mahomedan faith, and obſerve the ſolemnities and ceremonies it preſcribes, they are nevertheleſs much infected with the ſuperſtition of the heathens whoſe country they have ſubdued, of which their *ſalammas*, or ſalutations to the moon, is a prominent inſtance.

Here, as well as in *Bengal*, the Moors are, in general, both very indolent and very proud; hence moſt of them either enliſt as ſoldiers, or become mendicants: few of them

are

are to be met with who underſtand any mechanical art, and ſtill fewer who carry on any trade: if, however, any of them do engage in commercial purſuits, they launch deep into buſineſs, and adventure largely upon the ſeas.

A few of them who engage as ſailors, of whom the company have a conſiderable number in their ſervice, which is even calculated at eighteen or nineteen hundred, frequently become very good ſeamen, although they ſeldom loſe their natural indolent diſpoſition.

Of their ſtature, dreſs, and manners, and likewiſe of their women, &c. I have made ample mention in my obſervations upon *Bengal* *.

The religious ceremonies of the Gentoos, are not ſo deſerving of obſervation as in *Bengal*. The great feſtivals which are obſerved at the *Ganges*, do not appear to take place, at leaſt they are not accompanied with ſo much pomp and circumſtance as there, when they are obſerved.

Once in their lives, they viſit the pagoda of *Jagernate*, on the coaſt of *Orixa*, where

* See book III. chap. 2. of Mr. STAVORINUS's Voyage to the *Cape of Good Hope*, *Batavia*, *Bantam*, and *Bengal*.
DUTCH EDITOR.

no diſtinction of caſtes is made, and they all, like a nation deſcended from one common ſtock, eat, drink, and make merry together. At that time too, the caſte of the warriors, and ſome others, are allowed to eat fleſh and fiſh.

The burning or burying alive of widows with their deceaſed huſbands, is rare here. Above *Banca Parra*, on the banks of the *Tapi*, a ſort of tomb is ſhewn, where a woman was burnt with her huſband, which is a proof of the rarity of the occurrence.

The difference they make between what they eſteem fortunate and unfortunate days, which are announced and regulated by their prieſts, is more obſerveable here than in *Bengal*, on account of the number of Banian merchants, with whom one has always ſome dealings.

Their prieſts did not appear to me to have ſo much reſpect paid to them as in *Bengal*; perhaps on account of their great number; for they are made uſe of for *cooleys*, or labourers, to carry goods in and out of the warehouſes, for which they have even an excluſive privilege. Another ſort, called *bhooys*, are alone entitled to load and unload them.

The

The pagodas are neither ſo large nor ſo handſome here, as in *Bengal*, and their idols are of leſs conſideration than there.

Their belief in the metempſychoſis, which, it is ſaid, is univerſal among the Hindoos (though I could never reconcile this with the expectation which their prieſts endeavour to impreſs upon thoſe women who ſuffer themſelves to be burnt or buried alive with their huſbands, namely, that, united to the deceaſed in another life, they will enjoy eternal pleaſures with him), makes them very ſolicitous about the life of every animal, as well of ſuch as are hurtful, as of ſuch as are uſeful or harmleſs. They will not premeditately kill any animal of any kind, nor eat of its fleſh. Thoſe among them, who ſeek to attain the higheſt degree of ſanctity, and endeavour to make themſelves agreeable to the divinity by their good deeds, put every means in practice to avoid being guilty of the murder even of the meaneſt inſect.

I ſaw ſeveral of them here, who wore a piece of thin linen, or gauze, before the mouth, in order not to deprive any creature of life, by their breath. Others have beſides a bruſh or broom, with which they ſweep away

the duſt from the ground upon which they tread, that they may not cruſh any living thing to death with their feet. Others again ſearch for the places where ants reſort, and ſtrew flour about them, in order to furniſh thoſe inſects with food. If they have the misfortune of accidently killing any inſect or other animal, they impoſe a heavy penance upon themſelves, which is always accompanied by many waſhings and purifications.

How ridiculous ſoever the ſuperſtition of theſe blind heathens may now appear to us Europeans, we have only to recur to our own portion of the globe, and to the middle ages, and we ſhall find an inſtance of a very renowned ſaint, who performed a penance of ſix months, becauſe he had killed a knat or flea that had ſtung him *.

When theſe Indian ſaints, whom THEVENOT calls *vartias*, and the Dutch, for what reaſon I know not, *potjé piſſers*, die, their bodies are not burnt, like thoſe of the other Gentoos, but buried. Their burying-place, which I mentioned before, lies out of the *Catergam*-gate; they are not, as was in

* *Philoſophie du bon Sens*, chap. *de l'Incertitude de l'Hiſtoire*, ſect. 8. 5.

general

general aſſerted, placed in their graves with the feet upwards, but in a poſture as if they ſat upon their heels. Over each grave is a ſquare tomb, about four feet high, and three feet broad, open all round, except the corners, upon which a little dome reſts, which is built upon the tomb; under it, exactly in the middle, is a ſquare ſtone, perfectly white, in which the repreſentation of two footſteps, next to each other, is carved, with an inſcription round them. Their fellow-believers ſhew great veneration for theſe tombs, and ſtrew them daily with freſh flowers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Account of an Hoſpital for ſick, lame, or maimed Animals—Supported by the Contributions of the Banians and Gentoos.—Its Revenues. — Supplies of Hay, Corn, &c. — Grain in which there are any Worms or Wevils depoſited here.—Lice, and other Vermin, kept and fed here.—Apes and Monkeys. — A land Tortoiſe, of a remarkable Weight and Age.—The Perſees of Surat.—Their Origin.—Their Character. —Their Numbers. — Their Appearance. — Their Women.—Cuſtoms.—Ceremonies of Marriage.—At the Birth of a Child.—Reception of the Boys, as Members of their Religion.

THE Banians, or Gentoos, whoſe daily occupations do not permit them to tread in the footſteps of theſe meritorious ſaints, fulfil the duties impoſed upon them in another manner, by providing for the welfare of animals.

For this purpoſe, they have entered into engagements, more than a century ago, to devote a certain part of their gains in trade, annually, to a ſort of hoſpital for animals, which was then erected by them, out of the city,

city, but which now, by the walling round of the ſuburbs, has been taken into the town, and ſtands in the ward called *Sagurampoura*, near the *Madjara*-gate.

The hoſpital itſelf is called *Panjeropor*, which denotes as much as *a ſociety*, as both Banians and Gentoos contribute their ſhares towards the ſupport of this inſtitution.

The former, however, contribute the largeſt portion, as their profits are greater than thoſe of the former; the rate by which they pay is, one *ana*, or one ſixteenth of a rupee, out of every hundred rupees, clear gain.

In the ſame manner, the pecuniary mulcts, to which they are condemned by their Brahmins, for the ſpeaking of untruths, or other venial offences, are appropriated to the ſupport of this hoſpital.

The chief direction over it is confided to the chief of the Banians, who receives the revenues of the inſtitution, and pays the daily expences of it out of them.

Although by the decay of the trade of *Surat*, this inſtitution has ſuffered in common with it, theſe revenues yet amount yearly to full ſix thouſand rupees, or nine thouſand Dutch gilders.

From

From this forty ſervants are kept, who take care of and feed the animals committed to their charge. Every year, five hundred thouſand truſſes of hay, and every day, ſixty *ſeer* of corn, and fifty *ſeer* of milk, are required for keeping the ſick cattle; beſides which, the cows and oxen are ſent to paſture out of the city, unleſs they are lamed, or unable by extreme age, to crop their food themſelves.

The hoſpital conſiſts of a large plain, nearly ſquare, of about twenty-five acres in extent, ſurrounded by a high wall, having ſheds in ſeveral parts of it, under which the cattle ſleep. On the left hand of the entrance, which is through a great gate, there is a ſtone building, in which there is a floor, twelve or fourteen feet from the ground, whither the Banians and Gentoos carry their ſpoiled grain, in which there are any worms or wevils; when it has lain ſome time there, it is caſt through large ſquare holes in the floor, into the lower part of the building, where it is kept as in a warehouſe, till the corn, with the animals in it, are entirely turned to duſt, when it is carried out of the town, and ſtrewed upon the garden-grounds.

Lice,

Lice, and other vermin, are likewiſe kept and fed in this place, but I did not ſee any of them *.

The birds that are ſick or maimed, are kept in cages; but the greateſt part of the quadrupeds were unconfined.

Among all the animals that are maintained here, I did not, however, ſee any that may be claſſed as carnivorous; but there were a number of apes and monkeys of all ſorts, who were all either ſick, lame, or maimed.

Amongſt others, I ſaw likewiſe a land tortoiſe, which, as I gueſſed, weighed at leaſt one hundred and fifty pounds. This animal, as the Banians aſſured me, had already been kept there for the ſpace of ſeventy years, and it could now ſcarcely move, from extreme old age. Under its paws, on each

* In deſcribing this hoſpital, OVINGTON adds the following curious circumſtance, that "to maintain the vermin with that "choice diet to which they are uſed, and to feed them with "their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to lie "all night upon the cot or bed where the vermin are put; "and he is faſtened upon it, leſt their ſtinging force him "to take his flight before morning; and ſo they nouriſh "themſelves by ſucking his blood, and feeding on his car-"caſs." *T.*

ſide,

ſide, there were four nails ſticking out, which were white, and reſembled fingers that had been cut off. The animal was entirely blind, and was fed with nothing but milk. It was, however, dead when I was at *Surat*, for the ſecond time, in the year 1777.

Faquirs are likewiſe met with here, who come down from the interior parts of the country to this populous city, in order to perform their ſingular penances, before numerous ſpectators, who croud the ſtreets of it. In my obſervations upon *Bengal*, I have made ample mention of them, and ſhall, therefore, only add, that their manner of life and corporal ſufferings are the ſame here, as in *Bengal* *.

The third people, or nation, who help to form the body of inhabitants at *Surat*, are the Perſians, or Perſees.

Theſe deſcendants of the ancient Perſians, thoſe well-known enemies of Greece, and benefactors of the Jewiſh people, known for many ages by the name of *Guebres*, or *Gaives*, and likewiſe by the appellation of

* See the third book, in the ſecond volume, of Mr. STAVORINUS's beforementioned voyage. DUTCH EDITOR.

Atech

Atech Pereſt, or worſhippers of fire, abandoned their country upon the conqueſt of it by the caliph OMAR, and the capture by him of their laſt king HORMISDAS.

As the conqueror forced all his new ſubjects to embrace the mahomedan creed, and perſecuted with fire and ſword thoſe who refuſed to abandon the religion of their forefathers, ſome of them fled to the moſt diſtant parts of the province of *Carmenia*, in which, though belonging to *Perſia*, it ſeems that the mahomedan ſovereigns of the country have ſuffered them to remain undiſturbed, with reſpect to their religion. THEVENOT, who was in *Perſia*, in the year 1665, writes, that they dwelt there, and likewiſe in other parts of *Perſia*, and exerciſed their religion unmoleſted.

A great portion, however, abandoned their country, in the year 636*, and fled for refuge to Hindoſtan, reſorting more particularly to the neighbourhood of *Surat*, where they obtained permiſſion to ſettle from the Hindoos, and to exerciſe their religion

* This was the date when the lieutenants of OMAR ſubdued *Perſia*; in the Dutch original it is printed by miſtake 1632 *T.*

without

without reſtraint; upon the condition, however, that they ſhould never kill any ox or cow, and which they likewiſe affirm they have never done, even until the preſent day.

Their number, in and round *Surat*, is at preſent eſtimated to amount to one hundred thouſand ſouls, who almoſt all maintain themſelves by agriculture and manufactures*. As they much ſurpaſs the other inhabitants of *Surat* in induſtry, no Perſees are ſeen among the beggars, with which the city ſwarms; if they are ever oppreſſed by poverty, their chiefs take care that they need not have recourſe to the deſpicable life of mendicants. Many of them are domeſtics in the houſes of the Europeans, and become occaſional ſervants to the ſtrangers who arrive in the city: they receive five rixdollars per month wages, but muſt provide their own victuals.

They encreaſe in numbers from day to day, and have built and inhabit many entire wards in the ſuburbs. The greateſt number

* Valentyn ſays that the Perſees of *Surat* are the poſterity of about 18,000 of their countrymen, who, flying from Omar, came by ſea from Cape *Jaſk*, in the Gulph of *Perſia*, *Gombroon*, and *Ormus*, to *Guzurat*. *T.*

of

of them, however, ſays Mr. SCHREUDER, live in the country, and along the ſeacoaſt from *Baroche* to *Bazaim*, and farther, where they have ſeveral large and wealthy villages.

There are ſome among them, although few, who leave their countrymen, in the neighbourhood of *Surat*, for ſeveral years, and reſort to *Cochim*, the coaſt of *Coromandel*, or other places in India, in order to procure a better livelihood; theſe leave their wives and children behind them, and marry other wives at the places where they go to reſide: but they are much deſpiſed by their own people, eſpecially when they die in another part of the country, and cannot be inhumated in the uſual burial-places, for it is an article of belief among them, that ſuch perſons are eternally miſerable in a future life; for this reaſon their relations ſpare no expence in order to have the bones conveyed to their receptacles, and ſometimes are at the coſt of twenty thouſand rupees, and more, to effect this purpoſe.

Several among them at *Surat* are rich, and may be counted among the principal merchants.

They are much fairer than either the

Moors

Moors or Gentoos, and do not differ much in complexion from the Spaniards: they have, in general, large eyes, aquiline noſes, and are well-proportioned.

Their women, who are ſtill fairer than the men, are, generally ſpeaking, tall and graceful; they have large piercing black eyes, full of the moſt faſcinating fire; their eyebrows are black, perfectly arched, and placed at a proper diſtance from the eyes, to add conſiderably to the beauty of the face; the forehead is high; the noſe, like the ſame feature in the men, has an aquiline bend; the mouth is ſmall, and adorned with the moſt beautiful pearly teeth; the boſom is full, and the breaſts moſt ſymmetrically rounded; their legs are very handſome; their deportment and gait is airy and graceful; and their Mooriſh attire looſe and gay.

Theſe people, it is ſaid, are much addicted to ſenſual pleaſures, and are even guilty of the unnatural crimes, which were not a little prevalent among the ancient Perſians, and are not rare among the inhabitants of the country in which they at preſent reſide.

They, however, marry no more than one woman

woman at the ſame time, and never any one but of their own nation, ſo that they have preſerved their race, through ſo many ages, pure and unmixed with other nations, to the preſent day.

Adultery and fornication they puniſh amongſt themſelves, and even by death; but they muſt, however, give cognizance of any capital puniſhment to the Mooriſh government: the execution is performed in ſecret, either by lapidation, drowning in the river, caſtigation, or beating to death, and ſometimes by poiſon.

Purſuers of unlawful pleaſures, ſpurred on by the deſire of variety, and ſuch as did not otherwiſe make any difficulty of confeſſing and even triumphing in their amours, have uniformly aſſured me, that they have never ſucceeded in having their will of any Perſian woman, notwithſtanding they have neither ſpared aſſiduity nor money. The fear of puniſhment has ſo much influence upon theſe women, that they never dare conſent, well knowing that if ever their indiſcretion be diſcovered, they cannot eſcape certain death. They are not, however, at all deficient in the amorouſneſs of conſtitution,

which is ſo much the characteriſtic of all the oriental women. They are ſeen, every day, in the ſtreets, and frequently fetch water at a diſtance from their houſes. A number of Perſian women are, however, always together, and a young girl eſpecially is very rarely ſeen by herſelf.

Girls are marriageable before they are twelve years old, and their marriages are contracted at a very early age, and while they are mere infants; but cohabitation is deferred till the girls are about the above-mentioned age of puberty.

As ſoon as the wedding-day is fixed upon, the bridegroom and his father go round, a few days before, to the houſes of all their relations and friends, in order to announce the intended nuptials to them; every one is then obliged to preſent the bridegroom with ſome articles of houſehold furniture, money, or clothes, to which cuſtom he, in his turn, is obliged equally to conform, when others of his friends marry.

When the marriage-ceremony is performed, the bride and bridegroom ſit down, with their legs croſſed under them, upon a ſquare board, covered with cloth, and laid upon

upon the ground; the fathers ſit next to their children; a cocoanutſhell is given to the young couple, with ſome thread, which they wind round it, and give it interchangeably to each other three times; the prieſt then ſtrews ſome rice, as a ſymbol of proliſicneſs, upon them; next, after uttering a prayer, he writes upon a little billet, or note, that the father, named ſo and ſo, has given his daughter to be the wife of the bridegroom, ſuch a one; as ſoon as the note is rolled up, a ſtring of green beads is put round the neck of the bride, which ſhe never puts off till it is entirely worn out. It is not cuſtomary to give any portion with the bride.

As ſoon as a child is born, the father goes to one of their prieſts, in order to inform him thereof, and he writes down where and when the child was brought into the world. The prieſt then forms three names out of the horoſcope of the child, writes them upon a little board ſtrewed with aſhes, and ſends it, with much ſolemnity, on the ſixth day afterwards, to the parents, that they may make choice of one of the names.

When the boys are ſeven years old, they

are admitted as members of their religion. They then receive a narrow woollen bandage, woven by the wives of the prieſts, which is wound three times round the body over the ſhirt, and which they muſt wear as long as they live; whenever it is worn out, another is furniſhed by the prieſts, to whom a certain fixed price muſt be paid for it.

Nothing of the kind takes place with reſpect to the girls, who are only ſuppoſed to be incorporated into their religion upon being married.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XV.

Ceremonies of Sepulture among the Perſees.—Deſcription of their Tombs, or Receptacles for their Dead.—Deſolate and dreary Aſpect of the Place.—Deſcription of the Outſide of one of them.—Of the Inſide of another.—Danger in too eager a Curioſity to examine them.—Singular Method of Interment mentioned by THEVENOT.*—Superſtitious Opinions of the Perſees.*

WHEN a Perſee dies, the body is waſhed clean, and dreſſed in the oldeſt clothes belonging to the deceaſed. Then four carriers of the dead, who are equally Perſees, but of the very loweſt claſs, to whom it is not even allowed to touch fire, take up the body, and lay it upon an iron bier, made in the form of a grate, upon which they carry it out of the city, to one of their burying-places, or, more properly, receptacles of the dead *.

There

* OVINGTON, who was an eye-witneſs of the ceremonies obſerved at the depoſition of the body of a Perſee, relates

There are ſeveral of theſe receptacles near *Surat*, but the principal of them ſtands about

the following circumſtances reſpecting them: "After the "body is for ſome time dead, the *Halalchors* (a ſort of for- "did Indians) take and carry it out upon an open bier, into "the open fields, near the place where it is to be expoſed "to the fowls of heaven. When it is there decently de- "poſited upon the ground, a particular friend beats the "fields and neighbouring villages, upon the hunt for a dog, "till he can find one out; and having had the good luck "to meet him, he intices him with a cake of bread, which "he carries in his hand for that purpoſe, till he draws him "as near the corpſe as he is able; for the nearer the dog is "brought to the dead body, the nearer are its approaches "to felicity. And if the hungry cur can by bits of cake be "brought ſo nigh the deceaſed, as to come up to him, and "take a piece out of his mouth, it is then an unqueſtionable "ſign, that the condition he died in was very happy; but "if the timorous dog ſtartles at the ſight, or loaths the ob- "ject, or being lately well fed, has no ſtomach to that ordi- "nary morſel, which he muſt ſnatch out of the dead man's "jaws, the caſe then with him is deſperate, and his ſtate "deplorable. The poor man, whom I ſaw, was, by theſe "prognoſtics, very miſerable; for the ſturdy cur would by "no means be inticed to any diſtance near him. When the "dog has finiſhed his part of the ceremony, two *daroos* "(prieſts) at a furlong's diſtance from the bier, ſtand up, "with joined hands, and loudly repeat, for near half an hour, "a tedious form of prayer by heart; but with ſuch a quick "diſpatch, that they ſcarce draw breath all the while, as if "they had been under ſome invincible neceſſity of running "over the words in ſuch a time. All the while they

"were

about half a Dutch mile out of the *Double*, or *Naſſary*-gate. The piece of ground upon which it is built, and which is about a

" were thus gabbling, a piece of white paper, faſtened to " each ear, o'erthwart the face, hung down two or three " inches below the chin; and as ſoon as they had ended " their petitions, the *Halalchors* took up the corpſe, and con- " veyed it to the repoſitory, which was near; all the company " ranking themſelves by two and two, and following it with " joined hands. The place of ſepulture is in the open fields, " within a wall, built in form of a circle, about twelve feet " high, and about an hundred in the circumference; in the " middle of which was a door of ſtone, about ſix feet from " the ground, which was opened to admit the corpſe. The " ground within the walls is raiſed above four feet, and " made ſhelving towards the center, that the filth and moiſ- " ture which are drained continually from the carcaſſes, may " by an eaſy paſſage deſcend into a ſink made in the mid- " dle to receive them. The corpſe, therefore, was left here, " and all the company departing thence, betook themſelves " to a rivulet that run near the place, for ablution, to cleanſe " themſelves from what defilements they might have con- " tracted on this melancholy occaſion; and retired after- " wards to their proper habitations in the city, from whence " this place is diſtant about a mile; but within the ſpace " of a day or two after, ſome of the neareſt relatives return " again hither, to obſerve which of the eyes of their deceaſed " friend was firſt picked out by the hungry vultures; and " if they find, that the right eye was firſt ſeized on, this " abodes undoubted happineſs; if the left, they then are " ſorrowful; for that is a direful ſign of his miſery."

Ovington's Voyage to Surat, London, 1696, page 376. *T.*

quarter of a mile in circumference, is the property of the Perſees; it lies a little higher than the country round it; the ſoil is a hard, ſtony, clay, which is ſplit to a conſiderable depth, in ſeveral places, by the great aridity of the climate. The little bruſhwood, and the faded and thorny buſhes, which are interſperſed upon it, bear the viſible marks of a deſert and barren ſoil, upon which they rather appear to pine, than to grow.

The death-like ſilence, and diſmal ſolitude of the place, the hoarſe croakings of the crows and ravens, that reſort hither in numerous bands, to feed upon the putrifying carcaſſes, make this ſpot a truer picture of the dreary abodes deſtined for the reception of departed ſouls, and a more ſolemn and more gloomy ſcene, than even the far-famed *Avernus* of the Roman poets.

On this piece of ground, are four of their repoſitories for dead bodies, two of which are entirely decayed, open, and overgrown withinſide with graſs and buſhes.

The neweſt, which had been built, entirely new, three or four years before, was, like the others, round. Its circumference I found was about three hundred feet; it

was

was ſixteen or ſeventeen feet above the ground, with a border all round at the top, and made entirely of hard hewn ſtone.

The opening, through which the bodies are carried into the repoſitory, was, as well in this as in the others, facing the eaſt, in order that the riſing ſun might ſhine upon them, and in the upper part of the wall, juſt below the border, at the diſtance of full five feet from the ground: this opening was ſhut by two maſſy ſtone doors, with a very large lock, and ſo well cloſed, that none can either enter into, or even behold, the inſide.

A ſloping aſcent is made to the door, up which the bodies which are to be depoſited in the repoſitory are carried; I went up it, and to the entrance, but could not find any crevice through which I might ſee the inſide. On the border over the door is a ſemicircular frontiſpiece, in which ſeveral mottos, alluſive to the place, are carved in Perſian letters.

To the N.E. N.W. S.W. and S.E. about twelve feet from the place of ſepulture, were four pits, or ſinks, of brick, ſunk in the earth, and with a covering of maſonry over

over them, rising three or four feet above the ground, with several holes in it. These serve to receive the moisture that runs from the dead bodies, either by the rain falling upon them, or otherwise, through as many pipes, or sewers, that communicate with the principal building. The pestilential vapours arising from so many rotting carcasses, infected the air all round, in so intolerable a degree, that nothing but the most eager curiosity could have induced me to stay a single moment here; and the little time I did remain in this foul congregation of putrifaction, brought on a most violent headache, and it was a long time before I got rid of it.

At the distance of about forty or fifty roods from this large receptacle, were three others of the same shape and height; but smaller in circumference: two of them were in so ruinous a condition, that there was nothing worthy of observation about them; but I had an opportunity of satisfying my curiosity at the third, which was still entire.

I had left my servants and palankeen-bearers at a distance from the place where these

theſe receptacles of the dead were, becauſe I had been told, that the great curioſity of the brother of the French chief, DE BRIANCOURT, to behold the inſide of one of theſe charnelhouſes, would have coſt him his life, had not his brother come in time to his aſſiſtance with ſome military; he was aſſaulted by a number of Perſees when he entered the gate, as he had been watched by them when he got up to the wall. I was beſides ſo fortunate, that the attendant, who dwells near this place, at a ſmall temple, where the holy fire is kept burning, happened to be gone to the city, ſo that I was entirely alone in this ſolitary abode of death.

Clambering up the wall, by means of the holes which were in it, I got as high as the opening through which the bodies were conveyed in, and I found a crevice between the doors, of ſufficient width to admit of my ſeeing how the bodies were diſpoſed: it was as follows; in the center of a ſhelving floor of ſtone, which was laid from the wall, beginning a foot or a foot and a half below the threſhold of the doors, and which went all round the building, was a large opening,

or

or pit, and over it an iron grate, ſerving to receive the moiſture that trickled from the putrifying bodies, and of which I could not ſee the bottom.

This floor was divided into three circular rows; the uppermoſt, or that which was neareſt to the wall, was appropriated for the bodies of men, the ſecond for thoſe of women, and the third, which was the ſmalleſt, for children; and this laſt, when the bodies were conſumed by the birds, and the action of the air, ſerved likewiſe as a common receptacle for the bones, which either ſlid down, or were thrown there, from time to time.

Every corpſe had a ſeparate partition in which it lay, provided with a border of about an inch in height, above, below, and on each ſide; between which, and the next partition, a narrow grove was made, by which the moiſture could flow down into the opening, in the center; and the apertures, which were made for the water to flow from every corpſe, were ſo arranged, that the fluid exſuding from one, did not unite with that of another, till in the central ſink.

In

In the row of the women I ſaw a body half conſumed, and many entire ſkeletons in other places *.

THEVENOT

* OVINGTON gives a moſt ſtriking picture of this loathſome ſcene, in the following words: "The burying-place of "the Perſees is an object the moſt dreadful, and of the "moſt horrid proſpect, in the world, and much more frightful than a field of ſlaughtered men. It contains a number of carcaſſes of very different, diſagreeable colours and "aſpects. Some are ſeen there bleeding freſh, but ſo torn "by the vultures that croud upon the walls, that their faces "reſemble that of a death's head, with the eyeballs out, and "all the fleſh upon the cheeks picked off. And on the "fleſhy part of the body, where the ravenous bird taſted a "more delicious morſel, are eaten ſeveral large holes, and "all the ſkin on every part is mangled and torn, by the "ſharp beaks of theſe devouring creatures. Here was a leg, "and there an arm, here lay half, and there the quarter, of "a man. Some looked as if they were partly jelly, others "were hardened like tanned leather, by the various operations "of the ſun and weather upon them. Here lay one picked as clean as a ſkeleton, near that, another with the ſkin "in ſome parts green, in others yellow, and the whole ſo "diſcoloured, as if all within were putrifaction. A ſight "terrible enough almoſt to affright an hungry vulture from "his prey. But theſe birds are moſt delighted with theſe "diſmal objects; and that noiſome ſmell which evaporates "from the dead corpſe, affords a pleaſant odour to their "ſenſes. The ſtench of the bodies is intolerable, and of "malignity ſufficient to ſtrike any man dead that would endure it; and yet the vultures chooſe to ſit to the leeward "upon

THEVENOT writes, that the *guebres*, who ſtill remain in *Perſia*, and eſpecially in the province of *Carmenia*, ſet the bodies of their dead upright, in a place walled in for that purpoſe; and leſt the body ſhould fall, they put a forked inſtrument under the chin, to hold it up: they leave it in this poſture, till the crows have picked out the eyes; and if they begin by the right eye, they think the deceaſed is happy, and then put the body upright, in a place walled in, which they call the *white grave*; but if the crows begin by the left eye, they think the deceaſed is miſerable, and put the body into the *black grave*. Theſe graves, he ſays, are pits, or wells, raiſed ſome fathoms high of earth, where they put the bodies ſtark naked, covering only the privities with a rag. He further adds, that the greateſt kindneſs the *guebres* think they can do to a dead man, is to kill for his ſake a great many frogs,

" upon the wall, luxuriouſly to ſuck up, and indulge their " ſmell with theſe deadly foul vapours. Some of theſe " glutted birds were ſo cloyed and crammed with human " fleſh, that they ſeemed ſcarce able to take wing, and the " feathers of others were much moulted away, by this kind " of rank feeding." Page 379. T.

ſerpents,

ſerpents, and other reptiles *. But nothing of all this takes place among the Perſees at *Surat*, as I have been aſſured by ſeveral people, of whom I made enquiries on the ſubject †.

Forty roods from the repoſitories, or tombs, which I have deſcribed, ſtands a ſquare ciſtern of water, where the corpſe is waſhed by the relations, before it is carried into the tomb; and no Perſee may approach near to the repoſitory, much leſs may look into it. If the firſt be done inadvertently, which, however, ſeldom happens, his clothes muſt be burnt, his body waſhed clean, and purified by the prieſts; beſides which he muſt perform ſome heavy penance.

Near this lavatory is a ſmall four-cornered temple, covered with a ſort of cupola, in which a little fire is kept alight, or ſmouldering, night and day, by one of their nation, who has likewiſe the care over the burying-places.

* See *Suite du Voyage du Levant*, tom. III. page 389 to 399. *S.*

† Yet we have ſeen that OVINGTON mentions the ſame ſuperſtitious opinion, with reſpect to which eye is firſt picked out by the birds, as prevalent alſo at *Surat*, *T.*

The

The bodies which have once been carried into the repoſitory, may never again come out of it; and if, by accident, any one who might be carried in for dead, were to recover again, and give ſigns of life, the carriers of the dead, who are obliged to look particularly hereto, are bound to diſpatch him effectually, without delay; of which, it is ſaid, that there have formerly been inſtances.

They believe, that if any one were to return again out of the tomb, God would be ſo incenſed, that he would forbid the earth to bring forth fruits, and that the moſt dreadful diſaſters would befal all the inhabitants of the country.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM